

**SWIMMING: June Walker at the World Championships in Madrid**

## Moorhouse stripped of his gold

A MYSTIFIED Adrian Moorhouse was stripped of a gold medal at the world championships in Madrid on Sunday as he was disqualified after winning the 100 metres breaststroke final.

The Bradford swimmer, European and Commonwealth Games gold medalist, best his arch-rival Victor Davis of Canada home — and then learned minutes later that he had been "struck off" because of a faulty turn. The official announcement said: "Adrian Moorhouse has been disqualified for a butterfly kick on the turn."

Moorhouse, 22, who had set a European record of 1min 23.28sec in the morning heats went even better in the final with 1:02.01, which would have been a world championship record.

Later, Moorhouse said he had never been disqualified in the breaststroke before. "I did my normal turn... I did the same this morning. Why didn't they disqualify me then?" he asked.

"I feel as though I'm the world champion. It wasn't even a close race," Davis was awarded the gold as Moorhouse, British team captain, said his country's officials were appealing against the decision. But as the medals ceremony went on, he said: "They seem set in their ways. There's no consolation."

Moorhouse pulled away superbly down the return length and contained the desperate challenge of Davis, who accelerated his stroke but still finished 0.7 of a second down on the Briton.

But silver turned to gold for the 22-year-old Canadian physical education student as Minervini moved up to second and Volkov, the European 200 metres gold medalist, slipped in for the bronze. The Soviet swimmer said afterwards: "I'm very disappointed for Adrian."

In the championship's first ever women's 4x200 metres freestyle relay, the East Germans set a world record as they became the first to go under eight minutes when they clocked 7:59.33.

The much-awaited confrontation between Michael Gross of West Germany and the young American Matt Biondi in the 200 metres freestyle final ended in victory for Gross with Biondi pushed into third place by East Germany's Sven Lodziewski. Gross's time of 1:47.92 was less than half a second outside his own world record.

### OBITUARY

## Ryan Price

THE noted National Hunt trainer Ryan Price died on Sunday, aged 74. He was leading National Hunt trainer on five occasions, winning the Grand National, Cheltenham Gold Cup, Champion Hurdle (three times) and the Schweppes Gold Trophy (four times). He was just as successful when going over to training on the flat, his two biggest successes being in the Oaks and St Leger.

His father, George Price, had been a celebrated trainer of hunters and show horses before the war. Under his father's tuition Ryan Price became an expert and quite fearless point-to-point rider. In the Commandos he was equally fearless, achieving distinction in the Normandy campaign, winning the Military Cross.

**SOCCER: FA Charity Shield — Everton 1, Liverpool 1**

## Late Rush foils Everton

AFTER the punishment meted out to Dutch property on land and sea recently, it was a relief to find that the only damage done along Wembley Way on Saturday was to discarded cans of lager, kicked and trodden on at will. To this metallic ring, England's top-rank heavyweights clanked back into action in the Charity Shield.

On this day of good intentions, good behaviour — like charity — had to be seen to start at home. Merseyside, transported to London again, duly obliged, responding warmly to an occasion and result that satisfied the partisan bulk of the 88,000 crowd. We even saw a passable Mexican Wave.

Events on the pitch probably pleased Everton more. Stripped of six first-team regulars, Howard Kendall's unfamiliar-looking side gave the team who narrowly outran them for the Double a firm reminder of the squad strength being built on the other side of Stanley Park. Few neutrals, on this evidence, would argue, Liner or no Liner, with Everton's insertion as the bookmakers' second favourites for the Championship.

But Everton are still hounded by the lean frame of Rush, their Wembley executioner in May. This

**CRICKET: Matthew Engel**

## Botham and Lamb restored

IF all else fails, you can always try the obvious; and so on Sunday the England selectors announced that Ian Botham, unbanned just 17 days earlier, would be restored to the Test team against New Zealand at The Oval last Thursday.

This event is going to be widely welcomed, and will inevitably be seen by some in romantic terms. Here is Charles II returning to Whitehall amid bells and bonfires, with Gatting in the role of General Monk. Hurrah for toleration and dancing round the Maypole.

"This is purely a one-off side," May said. "We have to beat New Zealand and put English cricket back on course for Australia. Obviously, there is a huge question mark about Botham's bowling but we felt we needed all the experience we could get."

Decoded, this appears to mean that there are still enough doubts about Botham's approach and pliability to make him very much less than a certainty to tour Australia, though if he were to succeed this week and then be left out, there would be a hooha on a scale

unmatched since the D'Oliveira affair. Gooch's refusal to go to Australia this winter is a huge disappointment for England, expected though it was. Gooch's wife has recently had twins and he was unwilling to be away from them for the 4½ months tour.

But for the moment anyway, his devotees can toast the return of the all-rounder over the water. In the retinue are Lamb, back after three Tests, which in the context of his recent form was quite obviously too many, Gooch, who rightly keeps his place despite his refusal to tour, Dilley, who missed Trent Bridge through injury, and Willey, who was 12th man there.

Thomas, Pringle and Moxon have all been dropped, and Athey will be Gooch's fifth opening partner in six Tests. Of the departees, Thomas is far more likely to make Australia than the other two. But throughout the summer, there has been a vague idea that Dilley and Thomas should be paired together before the winter, and the obvious place for this was the bouncy wicket at The Oval. So Thomas

gets dropped.

Having muddled along with five specialist batsmen all summer, England's idea appears to be the omission of a mainstream spinner with Willey at No. 7. I think Willey is an exceptionally good cricketer and a must for Australia, but the logic of playing an extra batsman instead of Thomas at this desperate stage rather escapes me.

Botham is in any case unlikely to get the new ball with Dilley and Small in the side. But if the selectors are so worried about his bowling, it seems odd to bring him back to the path of what, if either Emburey or Edmonds is 12th man, will be a four-man attack with two bit players in Willey and Gooch.

I am convinced the best way to get Botham firing is to limit his attacking role so he is left to stow at slip until about mid-afternoon. By that time he should be just furious enough to get the two wickets he needs to beat Lillee's record in his first over. But it seems a bit much to expect any kind of subtlety at the moment.

## Kiwis add to English humiliation

ENGLAND suffered yet another cricketing disaster at Trent Bridge last week when they lost the second test against New Zealand by eight wickets.

Their last chance to recapture some honour and save the series at The Oval.

This was England's eighth defeat in 10 games this year and the second in four since Mike Gatting was given the captaincy.

New Zealand, who failed to beat England in the first 48 years of cricket between the countries, have now won four times since 1975, which was when Richard Hadlee first emerged as a top-class player.

Hadlee, who has played a significant role in all four wins, was Man of the Match on his adopted home ground after taking 10 for 140 in two innings.

The one piece of encouragement for England — apart from a determined 75 from John Emburey as the batting collapsed again.

Clive Lloyd led Lancashire to

The Sussex captain, Ian Gould,

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## South Africa in black and white

When the mass murder of Jews became known in 1945 it was noted that many of the perpetrators were educated people. Racism, it was realised, was not just an aberration affecting a few young louts; it had the power to undermine completely the elaborate structure of laws and practices introduced during the previous 100 years.

South Africa is now the only country which incorporates racism into its laws. Other countries have other faults, but South Africa's is unique in its potential to destroy the moral foundation of civilisation itself.

Philip Natal,  
Liskeard Lodge,  
Tupwood Lane,  
Caterham.

It was high time the Guardian was reminded of its liberal heritage on South Africa (Letters, June 29), and now at last Joy Richardson's letter, and Lawrence Cockcroft's "Clearing the air of cancer about black rule" (July 20) are a welcome breath of fresh air after your interminable moralising. It was deplorable that Helen Suzman's magisterial rebuke to Mr Fraser and the EPG had to appear in The Times (July 2), and not in the paper which tradition suggests, is its true home.

Cockcroft's scenario overlooks some basic geographic and demographic facts. The white population of South Africa is larger than the population of more than a dozen African states, and within the country the ratio of white to black is 1 to 5, not 1 to 20 as in Rhodesia, or 1 to 30 as it was in Algeria, or 1 to 30 as it was in Rhodesia. South Africa is much better able to withstand protracted guerrilla war, in which it has substantial experience. Afrikaners have been on the continent as long as European settlers have lived in North America, where it is less than a hundred years since the view was that "the only good Indian is a dead one."

The Afrikaners cannot be defeated however massive the communist support to black nationalists and the most likely outcome of a protracted military conflict is partition, with a rabidly Afrikaner state sharing power with nobody in the old Boer homelands.

As Joy Richardson suggests,

why shouldn't a deal with the Russians be attractive to both parties? The Russians would gain a prize, not another bottomless African sink, without spending a kopeck; Communists and fascists are as alike as peas in a pod, and the Russians are the most confirmed racists in the continent, practising a total segregation wherever they have established themselves.

The West would do well to follow Helen Suzman's advice, and allow Africans of all kinds to work out their own future in their own way.

Donald W. Fryer,  
Department of Geography,  
University of Hawaii  
at Manoa,  
Honolulu.

Ian Aitken's reference to Papua New Guinea: "We should not decide upon them (sanctions on South Africa) to please Papua New Guinea or even the Queen" (July 27) is rather unfortunate.

The Queen has no relevance whatsoever to the day to day running of Papua New Guinea, and yet somehow she is much liked. Maybe this is because the modern generation has no recollection of being repressed by a monarchy since it is a redundant institution. However, there is much misunderstanding of the concept of repression by rapacious international capitalism.

When Papua New Guinea pulled out of the Commonwealth Games it sacrificed a great deal. Papua New Guinea has no ties with the South African economy (come and check the gold deposits), but experience of a colonial past and the arrogance of a few ex-Southern African whites who have tested the warm waters of the South Pacific in order to re-enact their segregated lifestyle has made Papua New Guinea very justified indeed to pressurise Britain into taking real action against apartheid.

There will be ironic jeers from the black Commonwealth when the huge influx of white wantoks (relatives) from South Africa block the ports of entry into UK.

Julian Davis,  
PO Box 1216,  
Lae,  
Papua New Guinea.

## Taxing the expats' patience

John L. Shaw asks (Letters, August 17) why expatriates should be allowed to vote at all since they do not contribute to Britain.

But in fact, many do. Not all are on higher pay avoiding tax as he claims unfairly.

Any expatriate who, for example, receives a public service pension of any kind will continue to pay UK tax at source and in addition pay tax in the country of residence. In some cases a complicated procedure may allow, after long delays, a measure of partial relief from this double taxation.

HM Government, however, makes it clear that an expatriate, even though he pays UK tax, can receive no benefits whatsoever. Thus thousands of expatriates, perhaps hundreds of thousands, throughout the world are denied fundamental justice.

As Mr Shaw sleeps comfortably under his Thatcher defence umbrella or next enjoys the benefits of the Welfare State and its medical care, perhaps he will be grateful for my continuing contribution to his security and well-being.

Initially the House of Commons Select Committee recommended that an expatriate paying UK tax should enjoy a franchise for life, as they do in some other democracies, but the more political parties, anxious to manoeuvre votes, to their shame forgot that "taxation without representation is tyranny."

Laurence Adkins,  
St Peter Port,  
Guernsey.

The publication of a bad letter in a newspaper affects the newspaper, quite as much as the author of the letter.

I guess John L. Shaw must have burnt quite a few holes in newspapers in his time. Now he imputes just a single motive to all present expatriates, that they want to get sickeningly rich. And the insult in his letter is intended. It is quite obvious he has never heard of record unemployment figures for-

ing construction workers, doctors and nurses and teachers abroad. That some of these Britons may want to vote may seem surprising, but that is their right.

Mr Shaw's logic is capable of malicious extension. Because it follows that those who don't pay tax in this country through being unemployed and in receipt of unemployment benefit shouldn't have the vote either. Also at risk by his argument are all the Irish citizens who have the vote because they live here: in some constituencies their vote is a key influence. Mr Shaw's wish to disenfranchise the rich, but not the poor, is a non-starter.

Leon Drucker,  
Dacey Avenue,  
London, NW2.

Although it is true that expatriates do not pay taxes in Britain and are thus not entitled to vote in Britain, it would then seem a logical conclusion that we should be allowed to vote in the country in which we pay tax. This is not the case and most expatriates find themselves suddenly disenfranchised!

It is a myth that the majority of expatriates work tax-free earning vast sums of money in sunny climes. No mention is ever made of those working in British subsidiaries or even those promoting British interests and culture abroad often at great personal sacrifice.

To brand all expatriates tax-fugitives is as naive as Mr Tebbit's believing most expatriates would vote Conservative given the chance. Distance lends objectivity and my fellow expatriates certainly read the political and economic situation in Britain better than many in mainland Britain who apparently suffer from "tunnel-vision".

## Women in Mother Russia

If Mother Russia can't muster the efficiency to supply her daughters with tampons and sanitary napkins (Martin Walker, July 20), perhaps she could compromise and provide them with natural silk sponges.

Western women are rediscovering this ancient method, and finding it ecologically more responsible, cheaper, more comfortable, and probably healthier. (Tampons are not, incidentally, composed purely of cotton wool: even those not impregnated with industrial scented deodorant contain substances which may be hazardous).

Preeminently, though, this innovation could go far toward solving the eternal Soviet problem of supply and demand, because sponges are reusable. Three or four should see a woman handsily through a year.

The commodious condoms issued to the stout lads of the Red Army are, so to speak, another kettle of fish. Still, things could be worse.

Their unmarried counterparts in Eire can legally obtain nothing at all, unless they follow the suggestion I once spotted scrawled in an Irish women's loc: "Clingfilm — an Irish solution to an Irish problem."

Hilary Knight,  
Guernsey Street,  
Victoria, B.C.

Martin Walker, your Moscow correspondent, certainly assured continued subscriptions with his grand view as represented by his in-depth analysis of the scarcity of tampons in Moscow and his skilful expansion of it into a cause celebre for women's rights. After all, who can afford to pass up such vital information especially if you're in the future market for cotton wool

It should not be forgotten that we — outside Britain — see and feel the effects of foreign and economic policies implemented by the present government and are, in many instances, better able to judge the wisdom of various policies.

That place of taxation remains the criterion for franchise is yet another of the mysteries of our times.

Kathleen Rettenberger,  
Hoffeldstrasse,  
Stuttgart,  
West Germany.

Does John L. Shaw imagine that all expatriate Brits are money-grubbing tax dodgers?

We came abroad to survive, my husband being thrown out of work at the age of 52. There are no company perks, European allowances or tax dodges attached to his job. Our children went to German schools and we did it without help from anybody.

Contributions are not just made with money Mr Shaw (though, unbelievably to Germans, my husband is taxed on his RAF pension).

Our contributions, we think, are considerable. We further the cause of international and especially English/German friendship at grassroot level.

We have been disenfranchised for eleven years, having no European vote either! We shall be forced to retire to England in three years' time, why then shouldn't we have a say in who is to govern?

Had we the choice we would stay in Germany, if only to avoid the narrow minded, nationalistic and dare one say it "little Englander" traits obviously still flourishing in the UK.

E. M. Davey,  
Hofheimerstr,  
Hofheim/Lorsbach,  
West Germany.

— the stuff they pull over people's eyes.

However, to be fair, he should have noted that America gets her investment capital to produce tampons by insisting on cash on the barrel-head from its citizens for any medical treatment they may need.

P. N. Pureell,  
Arimold, Site 3,  
Halifax, Nova Scotia.

I refer to Martin Walker's article on the shortages of basic commodities in the Soviet Union. I believe that many shortages are created and controlled by the government in order to interest people in becoming active Communist Party members, as these members are given special shopping rights so that they may readily obtain many local and imported goods, (including those in short supply), which those less "well connected" may not.

Luis Sala, aged 26, from Barcelona, who was in the lead when the race was later declared and who was later declared the winner, said his car has spun twice. "They should have stopped it earlier. The truck was getting worse and worse every lap."

In an interview in Good Housekeeping, Miss Keays said: "What I really can't forgive is the hypocrisy, the lying and the arrogance of the other people who interfere — Conservative politicians who were prepared to destroy me to protect themselves."

Her comments express sympathy and some forgiveness for Mr Parkinson, but by recalling the promises of marriage she says were made to her, Mr Parkinson's hopes of becoming Foreign Secretary, and her father's "scandalised" reaction to her lover's refusal to tell the Prime Minister of the affair, she makes it difficult for Mrs Thatcher to consider seriously recalling Mr Parkinson.

The usual pro-reshuffle speculation has mentioned a possible post for Mr Parkinson, either in the Cabinet or at Downing Street, and although most senior Government

Letters to the Editor are welcomed but not all can be acknowledged. We don't like cutting them but sometimes this is necessary to get them in the paper — short letters stand a better chance. Send them to The Guardian Weekly, PO Box 18, Cheadle, Cheshire, SK8 1DD, England.

## Hurricane rains off the holiday

By Edward Vuilliamy

A TROPICAL hurricane, which picked up an icy polar wind and the name "Charlie" as it crossed the Atlantic, wrote off Britain's summer Bank Holiday in a wash of heavy rain on Monday. There were accidents and traffic jams as holidaymakers drove home on slippery roads.

Undeterred, crowds took to the streets of Notting Hill for a wet 21st carnival and Mods destroyed property and fought with police at the close of the annual scooter rally on the Isle of Wight, where there were 150 arrests.

Police estimated that the numbers converging on west London for the carnival at Notting Hill were much smaller than on the Monday of last year's festival — 100,000 turned out to revel in the rain, compared to nearly half a million in the sunshine of 1985.

Crime was also down, with 87 reported offences, compared to 112 on the same day last year. Police made 46 arrests, 21 of which were for alleged possession of drugs or attempting to buy drugs.

Some reggae sound systems had to pack up because of the risk of electrical faults, but many played on and music on the mobile floats continued as usual. Dancers splashed in the puddles, paint ran on the banners and the colourful, carefully prepared costumes of the children on the floats were soaked. Yet, as evening came, the streets were still throbbing with crowds and music.

The violence involving 200 Mods on the Isle of Wight came at the end of a scooter rally and concert attended by 8,000 at Newport. A marquee and catering vehicles were set alight and a fire engine, fire brigade Land-Rover and a police control caravan were stoned and pelted with bottles. The police had to flee the caravan.

The rain ruined sixteen years of planning in Birmingham when Britain's first Monaco-style city centre street race had to be abandoned at the half-way stage.

But Birmingham City Council is expected to stage more of the races despite an estimated £400,000 loss on the Super Prix that was cut short after 25 eventful laps for the Formula 3000 drivers.

"The weather has cost us hundreds of thousands of pounds," said Mr John Carlton, chairman of the road race sub-committee.

Luis Sala, aged 26, from Barcelona, who was in the lead when the race was later declared and who was later declared the winner, said his car has spun twice. "They should have stopped it earlier. The truck was getting worse and worse every lap."

## Hovercraft in Channel rescue

By Martin Wainwright

A HOVERCRAFT was left floundering in mid-Channel for four hours at the weekend after a fire in the main electrical system disabled its engines. The Hovercraft Swift was shuttling 132 passengers from Calais to Dover when the fire broke out 10 miles from the British coast.

Crew members dealt with the flames and prevented them from affecting the passenger section. But an RAF helicopter was called out to take off an injured stewardess and which down emergency engineers. It later returned to drop drugs for a pregnant passenger. The craft was eventually towed back to port.

## Labour on course for conference collisions

THOUGH Parliament does not resume for nearly two months, the political conference season begins next week with the Trades Union Congress, which the Labour movement sees as the start of its general election campaign. The main aim of the Brighton congress, and of the Labour Party's own conference in Blackpool later in September, will be to demonstrate that the party and the unions can work together in harmony to revive the economy, create jobs, and improve the lot of the less well-off.

Already, however, the two sides seem set for a collision over pay policy. The party leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, wants priority to be given to the establishment of a statutory minimum wage, the level of which would be set when Labour attains office. Unions representing the low-paid in the public sector, who have fallen sadly behind during the Thatcher years, are fully in agreement, but the big craft unions such as the engineers and electricians want to remain free to bargain for whatever they can get.

Another rift is threatened over nuclear power. The TUC's general council, which had previously supported a balanced energy policy, including nuclear power, now wants the entire nuclear programme to be halted "until a comprehensive energy policy review has been carried out." The change of stance, in the aftermath of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, threatens the jobs of at least 100,000 trade unionists who are employed, directly or indirectly, by the nuclear industry. It could also prejudice the nuclear debate in the Labour Party, which has yet to arrive at a policy on the subject.

The party's own anti-nuclear lobby has grown considerably in strength since Chernobyl and there were demands this week that Mr Kinnock should find another job for his environment spokesman, Dr John Cunningham, because of his support for the civil nuclear industry. Dr Cunningham, whose Cheadle constituency includes the Sellafield nuclear reprocessing plant, is one of the

most able members of the shadow cabinet and has, so far, been strongly defended by Mr Kinnock against attack inside the party. An anti-nuclear vote by the TUC next week, however, would strengthen the political argument for moving him to a less sensitive post.

The plant at Sellafield itself was shut down for five days last week when British Nuclear Fuels Ltd discovered that a consignment of nuclear waste would breach new guidelines if it were discharged into the Irish Sea. It was the first shutdown at the plant for two years and is an indication of the increased sensitivity of the

back-yard) Syndrome. If persuasion fails, Nirex will eventually have to go to the courts to gain access to the three sites.

A three-month controversy was temporarily laid to rest when Mr John Stalker, deputy chief constable of Greater Manchester, was allowed to return to work after an investigation into alleged disciplinary offences. A 1,500-page report compiled by the chief constable of West Yorkshire, Mr Colin Sampson, failed to uncover any evidence of serious misconduct but pointed to trivial complaints about misuse of police cars and to Mr Stalker's "unwise" friendship

with a local business man, Mr Kevin Taylor, who has never faced any criminal charges in spite of exhaustive police inquiries into his activities.

Though Mr Sampson thought these matters merited investigation by a disciplinary tribunal, Mr Stalker's local police committee threw out his report and reinstated his deputy chief constable. But the controversy will not rest there.

Who, it will continue to be asked, first pointed the finger at the deputy chief constable of the second biggest force in the country? Who decided that such trivial allegations called for his suspension from duty? And why?

Until he was ordered to stay at home, Mr Stalker was heading an important investigation into allegations that the Royal Ulster Constabulary was operating a "shoot-to-kill" policy against the IRA. The inquiry, which was thought to have found enough evidence to uphold the allegations, has since been taken over by Mr Sampson, whose team may well reach a different — and politically less embarrassing — conclusion.

Mr Sampson's lengthy report on Mr Stalker denied that the accusations against the deputy chief constable emanated from Northern Ireland or from the security services. But, since the report will never be made public, suspicion

will remain that Mr Stalker was "set up" in order to get him off the Ulster inquiry.

Terrorism and intimidation in Northern Ireland caused a strike by more than 2,000 staff in social security and housing offices. The stoppage was, however, seen as the first act of solidarity across the sectarian divide since the Loyalists began their campaign against the Anglo-Irish Agreement, and was thus applauded by unions and by the Government.

The walkout began when Catholic office workers received death threats from the outlawed Ulster Freedom Fighters, and Protestant workers were similarly threatened by nationalists in a Catholic area of Lisburn. The strike rapidly spread around the province, but each side refused to return to work until the threat to the other had been lifted.

Dr Rhodes Boyson, industry minister at the Northern Ireland Office, said that while he did not approve of strikes, he supported the fact that Protestant and Roman Catholic workers had come together. "Unless both sides realise that any clash between them puts both communities at risk, then the future of this province is very black indeed," he said.

Short Brothers, the aircraft manufacturing company, struck its own blow against sectarianism when it ordered all Loyalist flags, bunting and political posters to be removed from its Belfast factory. Responding to a campaign of intimidation against Catholic workers, the company chairman, Sir Philip Foreman, said that everyone's job was at risk if the factory was allowed to become a campaigning ground or if any workers were allowed to be intimidated for their religious or political beliefs.

A video shop in London which was destroyed by an explosion killing one man and injuring 12 was an important centre for dissidents opposed to the government of Ayatollah Khomeini. Scotland Yard believes the explosion in the basement of the Kensington Video Club, Kensington High Street, was caused by a bomb.

## Keays dashes Parkinson comeback hopes

By James Naughtie

THE hopes of Mr Cecil Parkinson for a return to the Cabinet were dealt another blow last week by the publication of an interview with his former lover, Miss Sara Keays.

By recalling the affair which led to his resignation in 1983, and reminding the public of her bitterness against the Conservative establishment, Miss Keays strengthened the hand of those who have advised Mrs Thatcher that the political cost of rehabilitating Mr Parkinson would be unacceptably high.

In an interview in Good Housekeeping, Miss Keays said: "What I really can't forgive is the hypocrisy, the lying and the arrogance of the other people who interfere — Conservative politicians who were prepared to destroy me to protect themselves."

Her comments express sympathy and some forgiveness for Mr Parkinson, but by recalling the promises of marriage she says were made to her, Mr Parkinson's hopes of becoming Foreign Secretary, and her father's "scandalised" reaction to her lover's refusal to tell the Prime Minister of the affair, she makes it difficult for Mrs Thatcher to consider seriously recalling Mr Parkinson.

The usual pro-reshuffle speculation has mentioned a possible post for Mr Parkinson, either in the Cabinet or at Downing Street, and although most senior Government

figures have been highly sceptical, Mrs Thatcher is known still to place great trust in the judgment of the man who was party chairman for her landslide election victory in 1983 and later her Trade and Industry Secretary.

He is still a close adviser, and a regular visitor to Downing Street. Miss Keays, interviewed by the psychiatrist Dr Anthony Clare, says she can forgive Mr Parkinson, but refers to others involved in the matter — who are unnamed — as guilty of "calculated cruelty and malice".

The implication that the background to Mr Parkinson's resigna-

tion as a result of her pregnancy in October, 1983, and the bearing of his child would be the subject of public discussion once again is a sombre political warning to the Prime Minister.

It will add strength to the argument of those, like Viscount Whitlaw, the Leader of the Lords, and Mr John Wakeham, the Chief Whip, who have argued that the Government would be damaged by Mr Parkinson's return.

A spokesman for Good Housekeeping magazine said that it was a coincidence that the article appeared in the September issue.

## Liberals to clean up tactics

By Peter Hetherington

THE Liberal Party will be urged to clean up aspects of its campaigning style in a draft report on publicity tactics which will be presented to a by-election unit next month.

The report warns that the political process will be undermined in the electorate's eyes unless there is a reappraisal by the Liberals, as well as the Conservative and Labour parties, particularly at by-elections.

But the draft, from the Leeds West MP, Mr Michael Meadowcroft, chairman of the 10-member unit, says that the Liberals have been unfairly

singled out for so-called dirty campaigning.

The report follows the intervention of Mr David Steel, the Liberal leader, in the closing stages of last month's Newcastle-under-Lyme by-election after criticism of Liberal tactics by opponents.

The new MP, Mrs Lilian Golding, who narrowly retained the seat for Labour with a 799 majority, claims she was the victim of a smear campaign in several Liberal leaflets. One listed the joint income of Mr John Golding, the former MP and now general secretary of the National Communications Union, and Mrs Golding.

## Militant on the wane

By James Naughtie

EFFORTS by Militant activists and their supporters to mount a fight back against expulsions at next month's Labour Party conference, appear to have failed.

Only four constituency parties have submitted versions of the conference resolution circulated among activists opposing the "witchhunt" against Militant. The national executive committee has expelled eight Militant activists.

The lack of support for the campaign against the NEC is good news for the party leadership, which can expect overwhelming support in Blackpool when the executive report on the disciplinary proceedings is discussed.

There was never any danger of defeat, but a substantial backlash from constituencies who have shown some sympathy with Militant in the past would have been embarrassing.

It is likely that some of those expelled will seek permission to address the conference, and Mr Neil Kinnock, the party leader, appears happy to support such moves. Such is the support across the party for the NEC's disciplinary measures, that some of those around him are positively relishing the opportunity for a crushing conference vote against the rebels.



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## Tebbit muzzles student right

By James Naughtie

THE Conservative Party hierarchy has taken up arms against elements in the Federation of Conservative Students after prolonged confusion over the Lord Stockton affair which left the party deeply embarrassed.

Mr Harry Phibbs, who last week published a controversial article accusing Lord Stockton of "war crimes" in the Tory student magazine, *New Agenda*, resigned as its editor, apologised to Mr Norman Tebbit, the party chairman, for the embarrassment caused and admitted that he had not followed the guidelines covering party publications.

In return, Mr Tebbit agreed to drop his legal suit against Mr Phibbs, which claimed libel and damages for breach of contract and misrepresentation.

Mr Tebbit, who is on holiday abroad, took the action to stem the tide of embarrassment which flowed from an article accusing Lord Stockton, the former Tory Prime Minister, of "war crimes".

The magazine carries the logo of the Conservative Party and the address of Conservative Central Office. Mr Tebbit was concerned over the impression created that the attack on Lord Stockton, formerly Mr Harold Macmillan, had been carried out with the approval of party officials.

Mr Tebbit is known to be furious at the affair, not least because his difficulties with FCS in the past

have been over his alleged refusal to take tough action against them. Dominated by the hard right, the student group has been a source of considerable torment to Central Office, though some senior party figures — including Mr Tebbit at times — have argued that it should be ignored rather than attacked. These events appear to pitch the chairman into open conflict with the students who have been among his strongest supporters in the past.

The article in *New Agenda* rehearsed the account by the historian, Count Nikolai Tolstoy, of the return of 40,000 Cossack prisoners to the Soviet Union at the end of the second world war when Mr Macmillan, as he then was, was a senior British minister in Italy.

Such attacks on the party establishment by the FCS are commonplace and normally pass unre-

marked. But the party decided to act when it became clear that the affair was inciting widespread interest.

In his statement, Mr Phibbs said he recognised it was wrong to have included the offending interview, with Count Nikolai Tolstoy, in the magazine without the party's permission.

The affair, however, is not yet over. The FCS intends to use the Tory conference at Bournemouth in October to keep up its campaign.

A further dimension of the embarrassment caused to the party emerged in the form of an invitation to Count Tolstoy to talk to next month's Young Conservative conference about his book.

Mr Phibbs also said he now intended to produce a new magazine "entirely independent of the Conservative Party."

## Shah gives up control of Today

By Patrick Wintour

MR EDDIE SHAH, the pioneer of the Fleet Street revolution, last week handed over financial control of his daily newspaper, *Today*, to Lomha, publishers of *The Observer*.

Mr Shah will remain chairman of News UK, which publishes the

ailing paper. His move comes after his local newspaper company, the Warrington Messenger Group, made a successful £5.3 million bid for the Warrington Guardian Group, a chain of 14 free and paid for newspapers.

Buying the Warrington Guardian Group meant that he had to abandon his 51 per cent stake in *Today* in order to avoid a reference to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission.

His spokesman said that Mr Shah's commitment to *Today* remained unaffected by the deal, even though his shareholding would drop below 25 per cent to avoid a reference.

Internal sources at *Today* said that Mr Shah's stake would be as low as 10 per cent. Lomha refused to confirm publicly that he had taken control of *Today*. Its previous stake had been 36 per cent.

Mr Shah had lost formal executive control of *Today* last month after the appointment of Mr Terry Cassidy from Lomha as managing director.

Mr Cassidy has been scuttling about the lack of managerial structures at the paper, although he has said the editor, Mr Brian MacArthur, is ideal.

Lomha moved the paper from closure in May by putting up £18 million while two other original shareholders British and Commonwealth and Ivory and Sims each invested another £3 million.

The paper is believed to be still selling about 400,000 a day; well below the figure needed to break even. Senior editorial staff have been resigning from the paper at an alarming rate, although Mr MacArthur, who recently returned from holiday, has been making strenuous efforts to persuade them to stay. Plans are also afoot for a promotional relaunch in the autumn.

Mr Shah feared that if rival bidder Northern Counties Newspapers, owned by the Reed Group, won control of the Warrington Guardian series his own group would have been squeezed in South Manchester between Reeds and the Lancashire and Cheshire County Newspapers, which is owned by The Guardian and the Manchester Evening News.

Ironically, among the staff of Mr Shah's Warrington Guardian Group will be members of the National Graphical Association who were sacked by him in 1983 in a "closed shop" dispute that led to over £900,000 court fines against the union and emergence of Mr Shah on to the national stage.

It was in that uncertain, even

## Nail-biting time for economy

WITH three notable exceptions — the oil price, the gold price, and some industrial share prices — the financial world has not changed in any dramatic way during my three weeks' holidays in Scotland.

Those exceptions, too, are less than stunning. If the oil price has clambered back to the mid-teens all it has done is to correct the inevitable overshoot that had occurred following the spring plunge.

The gold price? Well, all the markets have been doing there is recognising that — whatever the nature of the inevitable political change in the world's largest gold producing country, there is likely to be some danger of a restriction in supply which should be recognised in the present price.

Add in the effect of the fall of the dollar itself and you can argue that the present gold price still does not give adequate cover for the uncertainties involved.

And as for equity prices of some of our remaining "smoke stack" companies, again that was an adjustment which logically followed on the evident slowdown in industrial demand here in the UK in the first part of the year: the other side of the sad unemployment coin.

But the big questions remain the

apprehensive mood that the markets (bar those minor adjustments) went into the summer lull. But over the next few weeks the tempo will pick up and those summer concerns will push themselves to the front again. Come the autumn, we will even begin to get some answers.

At this stage it is perhaps worth noting a few plus and a few minus points, which do seem clearer the further you get away from the hubbub of the markets.

Looking internationally there is one big plus and one big minus. The big plus is that the oil price cut will work. It will give the expected boost to the world economy.

The point which is being made strongly by groups like the London Business School, surely the best unit of its kind in the country, is that there is an inevitable time lag between a big change in an economic variable like the oil price and the consequent response of the global economy.

When the previous oil shocks struck it was some nine months before the economy responded — downwards. The events are not the mirror-image of each other, but there is no reason to expect a fall in the oil price to take effect more

quickly than a rise. Expect renewed growth of a most respectable nature to get under way this autumn.

The minus point is the global imbalance between the surplus and the deficit countries. Will it be of a disruptive nature, when it comes? Some of the preconditions for such an adjustment have taken place.

The currencies are now back to their rough purchasing power parities, though they will have to overshoot. But the slanting of the Japanese economy towards domestic output and away from selling consumer goods to the US has almost just begun. Germany has been most hesitant at boosting its own economy by cutting interest rates.

And the US federal deficit remains as wide as ever, with no reasonable indication that the new tax proposals (which are supposed to be revenue-neutral) will do anything about it.

What happens to the world economy will of course be the dominant factor influencing what will happen to the British one. We may do a bit better or a bit worse but we are kidding ourselves if we believe that we can radically improve on the rest of the industrial community.

But you can make a couple of minor points which, if right, would place UK markets, companies, and maybe even unemployment figures in a slightly more favourable position.

One would be the scope for a fall in UK interest rates, which do look quite out of line with those of the rest of the industrial world, given our inflation and balance of payments performance. If the US cuts interest rates again, so much the better.

And a second would be the continued evidence that, at a consumer level, there is still plenty of demand in the UK.

But it will be a nail-biting time. We very much need that growth from the oil price cut. And we need a soft landing, both for the dollar and, more generally, for the whole adjustment between surplus and deficit countries. The first may be more likely than the second. But at least we should have some inkling of the outcome as we move through the autumn.

## THE WEEK

THE Soviet Union announced last week that it was prepared to accept on-site inspections in the Eastern bloc of military movements.

The offer, made at the opening of the final session at the Stockholm security conference, was regarded by many delegates as an important breakthrough. But US officials and arms control analysts warned against excessive optimism in interpreting the initiative as signalling flexibility on wider issues of arms control. "There is still work to do," said one official.

THE Australian Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, on Monday bitterly criticised the trade policies of the United States and the European Community. Opening a 14-nation conference of agricultural exporters in the northern Australian city of Cairns, Mr Hawke blamed the Community for corrupting world agricultural markets.

"It rather sticks in the gutlets of Australians that on two occasions this century, when the countries of Europe were threatened by war, Australia and New Zealand sent their forces," Mr Hawke said. "Now, they are imposing a trade war on us."

FRENCH nuclear engineers were investigating fractures in the main cooling circuit of the 1,200-megawatt nuclear power station at Cattenom, 6 miles from the Luxembourg border. The Cattenom station, which was due to start output in September, may be delayed for weeks or even months.

The break in the cooling circuit, which in this design of PWR would affect both reactors, was discovered by workers outside the control building who reported flooding in the basement of the plant. No fault had been signalled in the control room, according to reports from the site. (*Chernobyl report* — page 7).

SUDAN, racked by civil war and food shortages, is shouldering the extra burden of some three million refugees from famine-stricken African neigh-

bours, the Interior Minister, Mr Si-dahmed al-Hussain, reported on Monday.

He said that a million of the refugees from Ethiopia, Uganda, and Chad lived in camps, and two million more were believed to be dispersed. (*Sudan's war of secession* — page 8).

CAPTAIN Thomas Senkara, president of the small West African country of Burkina Faso, abruptly dissolved his entire government last week and placed all state business in the hands of three general coordinators who are longtime military associates. The dissolution came soon after the third anniversary of Burkina's "popular democratic revolution" proclaimed by Captain Senkara after a coup in 1983.

THE suburban Oklahoma community of Edmond last week earned a place in the bloody record books of American homicide when a disgruntled postal employee unleashed the worst hand gun massacre in US history upon colleagues and customers. Fourteen died and several were critically wounded before the gunman shot himself. Vietnam veteran, Patrick Sherrill, 42, described as an expert marksman, had apparently been warned the previous day by his supervisor that his part-time job was in jeopardy unless his performance improved.

CELAL Bayer, the former Turkish President who escaped a death sentence after a military junta overthrew him in 1980, died last week from heart failure, aged 103.

OPPOSITIONS of Pakistan's president Mohammed Zia al-Haq stoned policemen and government buildings in Karachi last week while his supporters attacked the opposition's property on the nationwide campaign for fresh elections and the release of jailed dissidents continued.

The violence was less heavy than during last Monday's campaign launch when at least eight people were killed

and hundreds injured in clashes in more than 30 towns in Sind province.

The opposition leader Mohammad Shah Amroli told reporters that at least 40 people were killed, 25 in Sind, the home province of the detained leader of the Pakistan People's Party Mr Benazir Bhutto, and 15 in Punjab. He Bhutto was arrested two weeks ago for defying a ban on political rallies.

THE Iranian President, Mr Ali Khamenei, last week warned the Gulf states that, if they continued to support Iraq in its efforts to disrupt Iranian oil exports, there would be in jeopardy too.

He declared calls for a peaceful settlement of the Gulf War, saying they were prompted by fears of an Iranian victory and reiterated accusations that "certain regional states," the foremost presumably Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, had assisted Iraq in its latest and very damaging raid on the offshore oil terminal at Sirik.

"Where necessary, we shall deal more resolute blows to those without whose help Saddam (the Iraq President) cannot carry out his mischief," he said.

At the weekend, Iran claimed that it had smashed a "terrorist network" which it blamed for a series of bomb explosions in which 34 people died and 200 were wounded. The announcement followed Wednesday's car-bomb blast in Tehran which killed 20 people.

CHINESE and Soviet troops clashed last month in a skirmish which left one dead along the border in Central Asia, according to reports from Peking and Moscow.

Both sides have filed protests over the incident, which took place on July 12 near the town of Korgas, in China's Xinjiang province.

Thirteen Soviet border guards crossed 15 yards into China and opened fire on three Chinese troops on a routine patrol, killing one and wounding another. Two Chinese civilians were abducted and four horses stolen by the Russians.

## Black nations fail to agree

By our own Reporters

AFRICAN leaders failed to reach a united stand for sanctions against South Africa at two summit meetings in Luanda last week.

Neither the six frontline states nor the Southern African Development Coordination Conference announced any attempt to impose economic measures.

The weak compromise communiqué, which merely "commended" the tough sanctions package reached at the Commonwealth summit in London is seen as a bitter disappointment for Mr Robert Mugabe, the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, and President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

Both men have crusaded for sanctions despite the obvious problems for their countries, which remain economically reliant on South African railways and ports. The two leaders have stressed that sanctions are a moral and political obligation for majority-rule countries, to assist the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa.

The failure preceded this week's summit of the Non-aligned Movement which is expected to call for mandatory sanctions from Britain and the USA.

Earlier in the week, a South African cabinet minister boasted that the country had stockpiled "literally thousands of items" of strategic goods in the last decade in preparation for the sanctions onslaught. He coupled it with a warning that the South African patience was "wearing thin" over Bishop Desmond Tutu's enthusiasm for sanctions.

Speaking at a business function in Phalaborwa, the Minister of Manpower, Mr Piet du Plessis, said that the South African public could put their minds at rest that thorough provision had been made for sanctions: measures which included "protecting the flow of technology and know-how on a variety of products".

Mr Du Plessis said it was time

that Bishop Tutu realised "that the patience of South Africans with his antics and press conferences and on television is wearing thin". The Bishop's "claim to altruism clearly does not ring true and it is surely high time that he abandons his selfish motives and desists from his patently transparent (sanctions) vendetta," he said.

Restrictions on press coverage of South African security force activities were effectively lifted last week when state counsel for the Government, in a major court case over the validity of the emergency regulations, conceded that key orders were improperly promulgated and were invalid.

The effect of this development is that journalists in South Africa can report on the first time since the declaration of the state of emergency on June 12, explain some of the cryptic references which have been appearing in overseas reports as to what has been happening behind the "paper curtain" thrown up across the country by the emergency regulations.

Probably the most important dimension which has gone largely unreported has been the involvement of troops and police in the running of black schools.

The Government last month cracked down on schools in the black townships — regarded by authorities as hot-beds of political unrest — by ordering pupils to register and to be issued with identity cards. Stringent conditions were also imposed on attendance.

The restrictions on schools were emphasised by events during the week in Soweto. One person was shot dead and eight were injured in clashes with the security forces.

According to the report from the township, security force personnel in plain clothes were seen opening fire on children in a secondary school.

The bureau later confirmed that where he met his family.

security forces had used birdshot and teargas to disperse 500 pupils at the school — allegedly atoning their vehicles — and that one man, Mr Maxim Gaga, aged 28, had died. Those injured were aged between 14 and 25.

At the weekend plans to establish a second Soweto township near Johannesburg ran into fierce and acrimonious resistance from hundreds of whites. An angry crowd of 2,000 people, composed mainly of whites, was in no mood to hear why "orderly urbanisation" demanded a second Soweto to accommodate black people from overcrowded townships nearby.

## Dissidents reunited

By Arle Haskel in Jerusalem

THE mother and brother of Anatoly Shcharansky arrived in Israel on Monday night after finally being allowed to leave the Soviet Union.

"I want to be with my children," said Ida Milgrom Shcharansky's white-haired, 77-year-old mother as she arrived in her new homeland six months after her dissident son left the USSR.

She, her elder son Leonid, his wife Raya and their two sons received exit visas last week and flew to Vienna at the weekend where Shcharansky met them and took them to Israel.

Leonid said he planned to make his home in Israel, although most Soviet Jewish emigrants settle outside Israel.

"I'm going to stay here," he said. "I know for sure what I want is to have a good rest."

In Vienna, Shcharansky had asked Austrian security officials to keep reporters away from the room where he met his family.

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**David Fairhall reports on the Soviet version**

### Small reports on the Soviet version

human error. The nuclear industry itself, however, will probably draw comfort from the fact that in this country, human error would hardly be multiplied on such a scale and that our reactor designs are different, without the RBMK's particular vulnerability: The PWs they want to build at Sizewell, will be pointed out, has a negative void coefficient, not a positive one



Continued on page 10



## Absence of Unionist leadership

THE height of summer passed off less violently in Northern Ireland than the early weeks passed, but the end of it is looking particularly ugly and the catalogue of menace is growing by the day. The IRA's death threats against anyone trading with or supplying the security forces, the uncoordinated sectarianism of attacks by Protestant paramilitaries on Catholic homes, and the intimidation at Short Brothers which management and union, despite their efforts, have yet to stamp out — these are now augmented by pressure from both sides against workers in government offices. Workers in these offices have walked out in sympathy with one another, but the effect on services is almost the same as if they had responded to the threats. Further to increase the tension, the Democratic Unionist Party held a demonstration against the Short Brothers' anti-sectarian measures, demanding to know since when it has been illegal to display red, white, and blue bunting in a British factory. (It is not a British factory, it is a very different Belfast factory, and the confusion helps the DUP but no one else.) For incidents like these to be contained there is a crying need for responsible Unionist leadership lest the unholy alliance between the hard wing of

the DUP and the paramilitaries usurps that leadership altogether.

It is at this point that the Official Unionist Party is now saying: we told you so. All through the negotiation of the Anglo-Irish agreement the line was that since Unionist opinion was being ignored the paramilitaries would take their place. That was not at all inevitable. It has happened by the grievous default of leaders in the Official Unionist Party. They have severed all connections with the Government at Stormont, wrecked the Assembly, suspended the business of the local councils they control. On top of which Mr James Moynihan has cancelled his weekly press conference on the ground that the media are more interested in the violence than the politics. What politics? Mr Moynihan has shown only one example of political leadership since the Hillsborough accord was signed last November. That was to agree, along with Mrs Thatcher, to talks about the crisis with Mrs Thatcher. He repudiated that gesture within the day and has since left the entire organisation of the Unionist camp to the likes of Mr Peter Robinson. Those Unionists who feel cheated by this abdication should make their feelings

known and find leaders who prefer talks with the Government to menaces at midnight.

The wrath against the accord is genuine, and the IRA has cleverly found ways of adding to it. But so far the wrath is directed only at the intention of the two governments to work the accord. That also is a clever, if self-destructive, move because it carries the implied threat that when reforms are actually implemented the situation on the streets will be even worse. There is not time to test whether that is bluff or not, though it does not look likely. Unless the accord shows positive results before long the Catholic side will be as disaffected as the Protestants are now. Another doubt is whether the Protestant paramilitaries, grown fat on protection rackets and other easy money, really want a confrontation. It would be safer to assume that even if they don't they will be goaded into it. That mood is certainly building up. What will it all be worth, though, if the full anger of the Protestant community is incurred without the necessary correctives to the Catholics' position having been made? We are 17 years into this phase of the troubles, and Britain has yet to find a way to avoid getting the worst of both worlds.

## Finding alternatives to British nuclear energy

BRITAIN is not in the least committed to an increasing use of the nuclear component in its electric power supplies. It cannot be, whatever the preferences of an individual government, because it has not made the advance decisions which France, the prime example, has made. The Sizewell B station was intended by the Generating Board and the Government to be the first in a series built to the new (for Britain) pressurised water design, but the long delays in the inquiry process ensure that no significant addition to Britain's nuclear capacity can be made until after the next general election but one, even if the next produces a five-year Parliament. The TUC General Council's recommendation that the programme should be halted until a comprehensive review has been carried out is therefore less revolutionary than it sounds. It revolutionises the TUC's own position, which hitherto has been broadly in favour of nuclear power, but the halt has already happened, and it now seems possible that Sir Frank Layfield's report, let alone the debate on it, will not be complete in this Parliament's lifetime.

The TUC's compromise is at heart the traditional one of setting up a committee. It is designed to bring as many unions as possible into line by holding out the prospect of a detailed re-examination of the energy equation before decisions are taken. Two consequences which would flow from this, if it became government policy, are that the nuclear construction industry would disappear for want of activity and would have to be recreated if the die eventually fell in its favour; and that the

inducement which has characterised British energy policy for a couple of decades would be further prolonged.

That is not intended as a pejorative description of what has happened, simply an accurate one. Britain has been fortunate in one sense: it has had a ready mix of energy sources to hand and has not been obliged, as France has been, to take long-range decisions with only short-range forecasts to work on. But the chopping and changing between one nuclear design and another, which was the saga of the 1970s, followed by the doubts about any design whatsoever, have meant that Britain could not harness itself to a serious nuclear programme within the next couple of decades even if it wanted to. The Flowers warning of 1977, that the commitment to a nuclear future (he was thinking especially of the fast breeder, which exists only in miniature prototype) should not be made until the waste problem had been solved, has in effect been heeded by accident.

A complete energy review is not a new idea. It was the theme of Mr Tony Benn's time at the Department of Energy, when papers were commissioned on all existing and alternative sources. The trouble is that it would necessarily take a very long time and would have only guesses to go on about the country's future energy requirements. All the guesswork of the sixties and seventies was wrong. It assumed a much faster expansion of demand than has taken place. No forecast made in the next five years could be more than a hopeful approximation to what the energy demand, and the means of meeting it, might be in the

year 2020.

That does not mean the review should not be undertaken. It should be, and can usefully be, because the existing mix of sources is not going to fail so suddenly that we cannot make preparations against the day. But some limit will need to be placed on its scope. If Layfield can take three-and-a-half years on one power station, with no end yet in sight, how long might not be spent on an open-ended tour of the whole energy horizon? Two projects are worth immediate scrutiny. Much detailed work was done on a tidal barrage on the Severn as long as nine years ago and the Department of Energy has recently devoted another £5.5 million to the project. The barrage would have about the same output as the proposed Sizewell B, though its theoretical capacity would be greater still.

A second spur could then be given to the fluidised bed combustion of coal, a technology in which British research is advanced. This use of coal is open to some of the environmental and safety criticisms of the old-fashioned method, but it is more energy-efficient and somewhat less polluting. With its winds and its waters Britain is also well placed to take advantage of new windmill aerodynamics and wave power. But (to quote Mr Reagan) there you go again. Once the subject is raised the Pandora's box of options is opened. We do have time to decide, but not the eternity which might quickly open up. And experience might show that Chernobyl was indeed the one-off disaster which the Russians claim it to be and which the rest of the nuclear industry is determined to ensure it is.

## The day of the mad dogs

Continued from page 9

only real insight into the psychology at work behind these monstrous events. "The confession of the accused," he explained, "is a medieval principle of justice." Medieval prosecutors crushed confessions out of the accused by piling rocks on their chests, but Bukharin explained that he confessed not because of torture but because in prison isolation he realised he must die and "You ask yourself, if you must die, what are you dying for? An absolute black vacancy rises before you with startling vividness."

Bukharin thought to give his death some meaning by his pen-bargain: He would publicly acknowledge treason, and accept that his moderate policies would have led to the restoration of capitalism. In return, he took a last opportunity to explain his policies and to defend his personal record. At the time, of course, Stalin had the best of the bargain: the hints that Bukharin threw out in his final plea were (as he recognised when making it) submerged by "the reverberations of the broad international

struggle."

The work of historians like Roy Medvedev and Stephen Cohen has rehabilitated Bukharin as an economic theorist and humanitarian socialist; he occupies an honoured place in the eyes of communist reformers in countries outside the Soviet Union; his political and economic principles are increasingly in tune with those currently espoused by Gorbachev. The most significant development of recent years in the Soviet Union — the return to "Socialist legality" — would seem to demand the rehabilitation of the man who drafted the Soviet constitution and who constantly attacked the arbitrariness, lawlessness and special party privileges which disfigured Stalin's rule. But although many of his alleged fellow conspirators have been officially declared innocent, and their innocence is logically inconsistent with his guilt, Bukharin's conviction for treason, espionage and the attempted assassination of Lenin, still stands. In 1977, his family received formal notification that "Accuse-

tions made at the trial of Bukharin have not been withdrawn as the process of examining the documents relating to the trial has not been completed."

Stalin's show trials remain a grave embarrassment to the Soviet Union, where failure to rehabilitate major defendants may be viewed as a lesser evil than drawing further attention to the iniquity of their original frame-ups. A half-century on, the episode at least serves to remind how legal systems, with their varying procedural rituals for emphasising objectivity and impartiality and apparent ability to extract the truth, can be vulnerable to manipulation — and not only in societies where, to quote from Vyshinsky's jurisprudence, "the judge must be a political worker, implacably applying the directives of the Government."

As for the confession of the accused, while it may be a medieval principle of justice, it remains sufficient, without any confirmatory evidence, to justify conviction in the courts of England and Wales. (The Scots, naturally require corroboration.)

## The innocent victims

REBELS in south-western Sudan last week bombed a principal famine relief centre. The action shows that the civil war in Africa's largest state has entered a critical phase. The Sudan People's Liberation Army stepped up its campaign after talks between government and rebel leaders on the fringe of the Organisation of African Unity summit earlier this month broke down. The first major sign of the new SPLA drive for complete dominance of the southern region was the callous shooting down of a passenger aircraft with 60 civilians aboard, all of whom were killed. It is the first such atrocity in Africa since the final stages of the Rhodesian conflict, and in confessing to it the SPLA cynically blamed the government for ignoring warnings to keep aircraft away from the south. Most people would blame those who gave the order and fired the missile.

Having been proved wrong in their suspicion that the place was carrying military supplies, the SPLA renewed its general threat to aircraft, which has led international agencies to suspend relief flights. About two million people face starvation in the area in a renewed famine caused by the war and exacerbated by other African factors including a plague of locusts. The SPLA's next move was to demand the immediate evacuation of four of the main towns in the disputed zone, one of which was duly sheltered, disrupting relief work even further since transport links were among the principal targets.

The rebels in the south are not without a cause. Sudan bestrides the eastern end of the invisible line which divides Africa all the way across to Nigeria. To the north of it live people who are linked to the Arab world by history, politics, Islam and ethnicity. To the south are tribes connected to black Africa by race, language, and a shared Christianity or animist culture. The historic tension between north and south lasted until a 1972 settlement granted regional autonomy. The arrangement was never convincing and collapsed in 1983, when former President Nimeiri imposed Islamic law on the entire country and subdivided the south into three provinces to break the hold of the largest tribe in the region. The division was rescinded by a new government earlier this year, but the important and genuine Islamic law grievance remains. The two sides are also fighting for control of the oilfields on the north-south line, currently controlled by the SPLA.

The question therefore is not whether the SPLA has reason to rebel but whether any cause justifies the tactics it is using. Similar considerations apply to the Government's handling of the revolt, a combination of military inertia, the use of surrogate mercenary bands and an indiscriminate assault on the civil population in the south. Each side is clearly trying to achieve the upper hand in preparation for the negotiations each knows to be inevitable as the only way out of a historic stalemate. The real losers are the starving people of the south, in a war neither party deserves to win because each has put an unachievable total victory above all other considerations, including elementary humanity. Early and substantive talks are the only honourable way out of the tragedy which now looms over the entire Sudan.

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## Le Monde

ENGLISH SECTION

## Is France edging towards withdrawal from Lebanon?

Nothing that the situation in southern Lebanon is becoming worse, France last week demanded that the conditions in which the UN peacekeeping mission's soldiers (UNIFIL) are operating be reviewed. The French request came on the heels of several attacks by Shiite militiamen on UNIFIL's French troops in which several soldiers have been wounded, some of them severely. France considers the conditions are no longer satisfactory.

FRANCE HAS always been willing to take part in maintaining peace in southern Lebanon within the UNIFIL framework, but no longer in the present conditions. This was the gist of the warning that the French government delivered to the UN general secretariat, and also to the parties concerned in the field in Lebanon itself. Underlying that warning was the thinly veiled threat of a possible withdrawal of the French contingent (which happens to be the biggest) from UNIFIL's forces, even though official sources say it is still too early to consider such an eventuality.

Drawing its conclusions from the serious clashes that took place between the UNIFIL troops and Shiite militiamen of the Amal movement between August 11 and August 13, the Quai d'Orsay announced on Thursday, August 21, that "the government had decided to submit to the United Nations secretariat general and the president of the Security Council the need for a collective review of all the basic problems raised in carrying out UNIFIL's mandate so as to draw the appropriate consequences from them."

As it is, the French UNIFIL troops who for the moment hold the positions most under threat as a result of the mid-August clashes in which 17 of them were wounded (since this was written, three more French soldiers were injured in a mortar attack on Saturday, August 23), the French Foreign Ministry communiqué added: "The government emphasised to the United Nations secretariat that it was important that the French contingent, which has been seriously exposed, should receive from the world community, the United Nations secretariat the other UNIFIL contingents all indispensable political, moral and material assistance."

What this means is that Paris considers the present situation cannot continue and intends to get the UN organisation to face up to its responsibilities. The question was already raised at the Wednesday cabinet meeting by Foreign Minister Jean-Bernard Raimond who noted that while "there was no question of France withdrawing its contingent," it was nonetheless "indispensable for the UN to shoulder all its responsibilities and ensure that (UNIFIL) carries out its mission correctly." As early as

in 1982 the French contingent remained on good terms with the local Shiite population and the main local militia, Amal. But the peacekeeping mission's soldiers, who are equipped with only light weapons, are also there to prevent commandos from infiltrating the lines and moving towards Israel, and accordingly to keep a check on the movements of the various local militia units. Now these groups compete with one another in their opposition to Israel and the South Lebanon Army (SLA), which was set up, financed and armed by Israel to control the "security zone" along its northern border. Amal is therefore exposed to the activism of militiamen belonging to the Hezbollah (Party of God, extremist pro-Iranian Shiites) who are determined to challenge its supremacy in the area.

It would also appear that in southern Lebanon, the Hezbollah — who make no secret of their hostility to France — have heavily infiltrated Amal's ranks. This is probably one explanation for the clashes that took place in mid-August.

Given this situation, France notes that UNIFIL's mission has changed and its troops now find themselves caught up in various rivalries which make their job as an interposition force even more perilous.

In the circumstances, it is difficult not to evoke the possibility of French troops being withdrawn from UNIFIL. In April the French "white helmets" who had been deployed in Beirut since 1984 to supervise the application of a ceasefire in the Lebanese capital were withdrawn with the full consent of the Elysee. The number of French volunteers working in West Beirut (the Muslim sector) has been reduced. And finally, for the first time since 1982 there are no French Navy ships cruising off Lebanon's shores.

(August 23)

BY announcing that the USSR has decided to extend until early next year the moratorium on nuclear testing it has been unilaterally observing since August 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev has given an earnest demonstration of his goodwill. He won't be the one to jeopardise the flimsy hopes of a new détente, however arduous the dialogue with Ronald Reagan. What this clearly means is that the Soviet leader wants the dialogue to continue, even if it means implicitly refuting every official Soviet commentators who continue to condemn Washington's mistaken optimism and Reagan's inflexibility.

Could it have been otherwise? However wide the gulf between Soviets and Americans on the strategic arms issue — therefore on nuclear testing — the fact is they are still talking. Their experts met last week in Moscow and the same teams are scheduled to meet again next month, this time in Washington. Which at least

goes to show that each side finds it in its interests to listen to what the other is saying.

Soviet-American relations have been fluctuating wildly since last winter, with controversy frequently overcoming the "spirit of Geneva" that emerged from Reagan and Gorbachev's firm meeting. Along the way, however, the dialogue means have been contained. The main stumbling block is the "Star Wars" project so dear to the US

President; the Soviets will not budge on it, whatever their own work in this area. But even here there are signs suggesting a compromise arrangement is not unthinkable. How do you draw a line between research, which Moscow does not insist should be banned and "deployment" which it considers unacceptable? The very idea of a moratorium that the USSR applied to "nuclear tests" can be applicable to space weapons, with

the time limits being left to be negotiated.

What is new in the present situation is that neither the Kremlin nor the White House can completely ignore domestic opinion. Judging by the kind of letters published in the Soviet press, the Chernobyl disaster has left its mark and produced a heightened nuclear awareness that cannot quite be brushed aside by the "space" military programmes.

## Oil prospectors turn their eyes to Paris

OIL PROSPECTORS are coming to Paris. Sometime in mid-September residents in the Porte d'Orléans district of Paris will see a cortege of bizarre vehicles passing beneath their windows. Four cream-coloured vehicles perched on gigantic all-purpose tyres will process slowly in single file stopping every ten metres to put down a metal plate on the road surface and send out a short burst of vibrations. From 8 pm to dawn, advancing at the rate of 600 metres an hour, the machines will explore the outer boulevards and a few of the main thoroughways leading to the Place d'Italie and Montparnasse.

In November it is residents living along the outer boulevards in the northern part of Paris who will witness this procession. Then in Paris, the convoy will move across Paris from the Porte Maillot in the northwest to the Porte Vincennes in the southeast, and from the Port d'Orléans in the south to the Porte de la Chapelle in the northeast. Altogether 50 kilometres of road will be sounded in ten nights.

The 75 decibels produced by the four 200hp motors will awaken

where residents are sensitive to the least new aggression. ELF-Aquitaine's management and the technicians of the Compagnie Générale working for the oil firm, have decided to take the risk. The exploration, which will continue until the end of December began on August 18 on the runways at Orly airport. It will reach Paris by mid-September.

Aware of the risks involved, the oil prospectors have taken infinite precautions. First, they ran a short publicity campaign in the outer districts of Paris. They next methodically explored the veritable warrens beneath the streets of Paris — water mains, gas pipes, sewers, former quarries, underground metro passageways and so on. And they drew up maps, accurate down to the last decimetre, for each of the main roads that their vehicles will be negotiating. Are the vibrations likely to cause cracks and cave-ins? "No risk at all," they say. "We've tested everything."

After the convoy has done its prospecting, it will take at least a year for experts to analyse the millions of bits of data collected and say whether there is a pocket

By Marc-Ambroise-Rendu

some sleepers and the vibrations will cause chandeliers to tinkle. But the 20,000 persons likely to be disturbed in this way will doubtless accept this new Paris nocturnal happening when they realise that beneath their feet perhaps lies deposit of petroleum.

Early this year ELF-Aquitaine was granted a licence to prospect for oil within the 1,820 square kilometre extent of the Ile-de-France (that is, Paris and its suburban districts). The French capital happens to be standing in the exact centre of the zone. Oil was discovered (and exploited) in the Paris basin 30 years ago, but in recent years more and more discoveries have been made. At the moment the Paris region produces 2 million metric tons of hydrocarbons a year, which is equivalent to ten days of France's national consumption. Until now, built-up areas were avoided by the prospectors. But expectations of making interesting strikes and advances made in prospecting techniques have removed the last lingering hesitations.

The vibrator machines have already operated in streets in Pau, Tarbes and Strasbourg without causing damage. But it took courage to operate them in a historic and vulnerable capital like Paris

of oil trapped beneath Paris. For the moment, the hopes are centred on the southern suburb as well as the 13th and 14th arrondissements. But the northern part of the capital should also prove to be promising.

What if a "promising formation" were discovered, say, beneath Montparnasse for example? A tract of land 3,000 square metres in extent would be sufficient to instal a 30-metre high derrick for driving a probe into the subsoil. There is no need to be directly over an oil pocket. Techniques are available today for angular borings of up to 45 degrees of the vertical. The oil prospectors have accordingly picked out and photographed a number of places in the capital where their trepanns could be erected.

If they struck oil, the engineers would be both delighted and embarrassed, for they would then have to find a whole hectare to erect the pumps of the drilling platform. But they already have an idea what to do in that case. A 150-metre slab along the outer ring road, a fake building front behind which the pumping machinery would be concealed, and that will be it.

(August 23)

## Gorbachev's goodwill gambit

The United States' dismissal of the Soviet decision to extend the moratorium on nuclear tests to early next year as a propaganda ploy was described by the chief Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, Gennadi I. Gerasimov, as "very disappointing". The Soviet Union followed up the moratorium extension by agreeing on Tuesday last week to inspections of its military activities. The announcement was conveyed to the 12th and final session of the Stockholm conference by the head of the Soviet delegation, Oleg Grinevsky. He said the USSR could agree to one or two on-site inspections a year on each other's territory. That statement was welcomed by the US State Department.

reference to this new development to justify his initiative. Washington is perhaps wrong to see it solely as a propaganda ploy.

However, it is obvious that here Reagan is in a far trickier position. The recent Congress votes on funding the Strategic Defence Initiative and nuclear tests showed that the US President could not raise the stakes beyond specific limits in dealing with Moscow. All the more so as the mid-term elections due to take place in early November promise to be difficult for the Republicans.

This is certainly a point Gorbachev has taken into account in announcing the extended moratorium. But his decision can also be a way of pushing hard for the new summit that both Moscow and Washington are said to want, and which the Soviet leader for his part quite bluntly announces for the end of the year.

(August 20)



**QUESTION:** What is the lawyer's place today?

**LANGLOIS:** I don't have a high opinion of the lawyer's profession, but I note there are plenty of practical possibilities. You have lawyers who are rather servants of the law, its auxiliaries in its unfair aspects, and others who try to prevent people from being too overwhelmed by the system.

I feel the lawyer's role is clearly evolving. For a long time he was someone who defended an accused person, or accused a person, before a judge. Today, he has become more of a helper, a support for someone who feels somewhat crushed, someone completely intimidated by the legal apparatus, someone who can't understand anything simply because he is not expected to understand anything. This is more than simply defending a client. The press, for example, must also be kept informed about the problems the person may have to face, and the lawyer needs to try to keep the combat going when the person concerned is a political activist. It's far more complicated and varied than before, it's becoming increasingly difficult but more and more interesting.

**Doesn't the politician in power become a kind of legislator and "outlaw" at the same time?**

The law is the first thing to be thrown overboard the moment there's a major social upheaval. So it's something artificial, it's the result, at a given moment, of a power balance, of struggles between those pressing for their rights and those who make a few concessions. It can be an extremely repressive law when the balance tilts in fact towards those holding power. In any case, as it is, the political authorities who create the law, they are not stupid and keep open a way out for themselves. We tend too much to consider the law to be neutral, to be above society.

No, it is a direct part of society. Produced by it, as I pointed out, it is the expression of the power balances operating in this society.

I don't for a moment stand in humble admiration before the law. In my opinion, it is first and foremost something that can be modified and which, one fine day in a satisfactory society, should disappear making way for a rule accepted by all and not imposed by a political power, which may well be elected, but in any case does what it wants to do.

As far as the administration is concerned, it is true there are direct influences and that's normal as the administration depends directly on the political authorities. As for justice, that seems more subtle to me. Many magistrates will tell you: "I have never had a phone call from a minister, so I am independent." But that doesn't mean that such and such a magistrate is independent. It simply means there is no need to give him instructions because he has perfectly understood what the government wants. In addition, he may share its values and ideology. He may, for example, feel the government wants a tougher line, so he'll take a tougher line. But as it was something the government itself wanted, there is an identity of shared interests, and there'll be no need to exert pressure or influence.

The magistracy today has magistrates who depend directly on the ministry — the public prosecutors — who are subject to direct pressure, and magistrates who hand down judgments (sitting magistrates as they are called) who have often given in to the government. They all make up the magistracy and the individual political ideas that each magistrate may have very clearly taken second place to the *esprit de corps*. There's a left-wing magistrature's union which is in a minority. Unfortunately, I

## 'Justice merely mirrors our imperfect society'

Denis Langlois talks to Ratimir Pavlovic

have frequently observed that there is little difference in the professional practices of left-wing magistrates and right-wing magistrates. This doesn't mean that having another attitude doesn't require courage; on the contrary I believe that bucking the general legal tide means missing out on promotion opportunities and exposing oneself to punitive treatment, transfers and, in the end, being shunted off into a dead end. This is what happened to a very well-known magistrate, who is also a writer, Casamayor. The moment he showed he did not agree with the legal institution, he was promoted to a job where he did not have to play an important role. The judicial institution is sufficiently powerful to get rid of snags, and to do that smoothly.

**What is the situation of French justice today?**

French justice didn't change very much with the arrival of the left in power: I should say it's still a class justice. But let me explain it, for a stock phrase like "class justice" has been used so much. What I mean is it is a justice that advantages people who have power. And who has power in France? The man who has money. It tends to work to the disadvantage of foreigners, young people and people generally on the fringes of society.

It's said there are large numbers

of immigrants in French jails. It seems to me this is the logical outcome of a system which ensures that people are not judged the same way. This is equally true at the police level. The immigrant population is kept more closely under police surveillance than the French. Immigrants live in more difficult conditions, hence in an environment conducive to delinquency. The police are vigilant and repressive. As soon as a crime is committed, there's going to be an arrest. Afterwards, once the suspected person is charged he won't be freed on bail pending trial if he is an immigrant. Which means he will be tried in more disadvantaged conditions. The judge handing down his verdict, or the court if you will, will also be more severe, as a result you do in fact end up with immigrants making up 25 per cent of the prison population, which is three or four times their proportion in the French population.

Justice in fact mirrors our society. French justice (but it is certainly true of justice in all other countries) tries to intimidate people so as to get them to accept the idea that justice is something beyond their comprehension and that judges are infallible. People who have never been at a trial and find themselves for the first time in a courthouse are struck right away by the architecture. A forest of columns is already given by the designation of the courthouse as the "Palace of Justice". Courtrooms frequently have very high, ornate ceilings with elaborate decorations in the woodwork, statues, in short, something that is very impressive for the person entering there to tell himself: "I'm in the presence of something that's almost of divine essence which

imposes itself on me, a humble mortal..." And this continues in the fact that there are judges who are dressed differently from us (red gowns and black gowns), who sit on a dais in luxurious armchairs.

The language used is not the language of ordinary people; the terms employed are so complex that only initiates can understand. And the initiates are the judges, the court ushers who are there, the lawyers who also happen to be gowned, and all these people celebrate a sort of ritual where people speak in very hushed tones that resemble a low mass. And when the accused is addressed, the tone changes, it becomes distinctly superior, he is almost given orders.

I know people who were given very severe sentences compared with the yardstick that in general exists in the minds of judges, but who did not realise it because they were overwhelmed by the pomp and solemnity of their trials. At a pinch, it's God who passed sentence, or they — the magistrates — are demi-gods, and there's nothing more to discuss.

**How can judicial errors be avoided?**

It's a tricky problem, because the way French justice functions necessarily leads to judicial errors, both in police investigations and in judicial examinations, when they do not verify the police work. In France, the police statement is

would be even ridiculous to think this is possible in an imperfect society. But if the number of people who "officiate" is limited, the risks of judicial errors are many.

What's necessary, in my view, is for people to keep a vigilant eye on justice in its most commonplace, everyday forms. This could lead to very bad results, it could lead to self-defence at the very outside. But if people are educated at the same time, if they are shown that justice is simply the search for harmony between persons living the same daily lives, then we could arrive at better results. I have no illusions, it's not justice alone that we can reform, it's the whole of society that has to be modified. Justice cannot be special. It's not because someone like Badinter was Minister of Justice for five years that justice has improved considerably, but because it's a cog in the societal machinery and because this is how society functions. I think it can improve only if efforts are made to bring about far-reaching modifications in society's rules.

**One of your ideas is to teach justice to children.**

Why do I address children? Quite simply because I realised that people were conditioned very quickly by the values of society and that the moment for such conditioning was unfortunately

childhood. Consequently, I have tried to produce a sort of counter-information, to limit the damage as it were. I tried to show children that they didn't need to wait to grow up to try to influence the people around them, that as children and young persons attending schools they could, for example, play a part in combating racism because in their daily lives they encountered racism and sexism. In the classroom, girls frequently tend to be left out, considered inferior. This is precisely something a child can understand and fight against — the feeling of superiority that exists in a boy, fight it so the inequality does not work against it.

There's a whole lot of things a child can do, and in general it's told: "It's not for you, you're too young." I'm personally struck to hear parents often tell their children who ask social or political questions: "Listen, that's not for you, you'll come to that later." If this attitude is properly analysed, it is either ignorance, the impossibility of giving an answer (unfortunately it is difficult to give a simple answer to a child who asks a question) or the desire to keep the child in a childlike state for as long as possible, to keep it for oneself, because from the moment it begins facing up to a certain number of problems it slips a little out of parental control.

Parents always fear their children might have political opinions different from theirs. It's something that can be tragic to tell yourself: "Oh well, it's my child and he's, he's even my adversary." The simplest attitude, which I feel is not the best, is in fact to say: "Politics is not for your age." When I say politics, I mean it in

the broadest sense. Justice seems to me to be a directly political institution. The child is shut out of these problems on the excuse his innocence must be respected. It's completely hypocritical because television and society in general do not respect the child's innocence; they thrust extremely violent images and ideas that are sometimes dangerous at him without worrying about his age. And it's this respect for the child's innocence that they throw in your face when you write books for children.

**Do you think that the judicial code of one generation can be the code of the next?**

Obviously laws must evolve because society is evolving, even repressive laws not in line with what the people accept would serve no useful purpose. There are offences that have disappeared from the penal code, but they had already disappeared before in judicial moves. People were penalised for abortion for a long time, then the law was modified. I feel society in fact imposes changes on the legislator. The legislator himself can take the initiative, but generally speaking it is because he's prodded into doing it. This doesn't mean that there has been an easing up of either the pressures or the repression; they quite simply change form in adapting to our society. It serves no purpose to penalise people who are not rejected by the prevailing values.

So law evolves. Here we're speaking mostly of criminal law, but it's the same with civil law. Divorce rules have changed because people don't want to continue living according to the same rules. But I don't think the legislator necessarily sees it as liberalisation, it's quite simply because the pressure is so great he has to concede a certain number of things. This is not to say he will not take back what he has given. The human rights guerrilla campaign, that is, the act of badgering the authorities on a particular issue with limited means can, at the end of a certain time, produce positive results, because the authorities are forced to ease up in other areas since they are harassed on the legal front.

I don't think much of law, but I do feel it's a major area of struggle which first results in interesting legal developments, but which also permits giving immediate protection to people caught in critical situations. I've always kept in mind the fact that there are people whose heads are under water. We may tell ourselves "What's important is to change the whole of society", but they can't wait, they need oxygen, and oxygen is finally the daily struggle for human rights. Since a government wants to impose its laws on us, we have often to pretend to believe in them. You ask for this or that rule to be applied. But you mustn't fool yourself and others by saying "the law is fair". No, the law is something that evolves, it's only the result of struggles.

**Can crime be prevented?**

Preventing crime is, I believe, the big idea today, but punishing it at the same time is completely hypocritical. It would be much more effective to pursue a consistent social policy. I'm somewhat frightened to note that, in the crime prevention councils set up by the left, there are social workers, but also policemen and magistrates, that is people who react in terms of restraints, supervision and in the end repression. In any case, things can become better only if we combat social injustice: I'm not going to claim that social inequalities alone are responsible for minor crime, but it may be considered that some people are almost egged on to commit offences if they want to lead fairly normal lives.

*Continued on page 14*

## Janos Starker: maverick genius of the cello

GREAT PERFORMERS don't always have the reputations they deserve and are not necessarily the best placed in the international distribution market. For the ultimate proof of that you had to be at the recital that Janos Starker gave this month at the Prades Festival. In this high temple of cello music, still wholly dedicated to the cult of Pablo Casals, there were people who had never heard, others had forgotten or knew only through records of the admirably sober playing, the pure golden tones and the distinguished phrasing of this 61-year-old American-born Hungarian (of Russian stock).

Yet his 1971 recording of the Bach Suites, a test performance if ever there is one, ranks among the very top alongside the works of someone like Pierre Fournier or the "god" Casals himself. Playing Bartok in black and white, Debussy with the lyricism of a prose poem, Beethoven with the headiness of a flawless virtuosity, or Couperin like some latter-day romantic, Starker is the very symbol of nobility and meticulous exactitude that you would mistakenly take for coldness. The French pianist Alain Planès, whom he has chosen as his accompanist and who travels with him worldwide, deserves this honour.

But when we are going to hear Starker play in France. A man unloved, he pulled no punches in his criticism of institutions and values he believes to be too highly regarded. A small volume of caricatures, to which he has contributed witty captions that needle some of his more famous fellow-musicians, will doubtless do more for his reputation as a rebel than the fulfilment of his art, though that's cheeky too.

The volume of caricatures which has just been published in the United States shows, among others, Paul Tortelier as Don Quixote, Rudolf Serkin as Santa Claus, Karajan as a pilot, Masek in short pants and Gledits in a monk's cowl. The final last drawing shows the wicked caricaturist and the very ferocious caption writer running away, heads down, from a lynch mob. The caricaturist was at one time the little-known first violinist of the Chicago Philharmonic. The caption writer used to be its solo cellist. He has since become a very illustrious soloist.

At the Prades Festival where I met him, Starker produced this inflammatory publication from his

suitcase. He is pinning great hopes on it. Not that he seems to like making enemies. But it so happens he is unhappy about the prevailing musical mores. Yet it is hard to imagine a musician at the height of his career, master of his passion as of his technique, a good family man, a good American, professor at Indiana University's music department, Bloomington, daring to take the mickey out of his fellow musicians with such freedom. And it is even harder to believe that this unreconstructed humorist is still a harassed star in the music jungle.

For the fact is he plays the cello like no one else, which means he has personally forged to overcome, or mask, all the restraints that such a bulky instrument can offer.

By Anne Rey

Swifter, lighter, more elegant and free-flowing, his style of playing is consequently a victory over massiveness, a course that is faultless to the millimetre. The marriage of silk and gold: it was Alain Planès with his supple playing who supported him at Prades in Debussy and Beethoven. Bartok, Couperin and Boccherini. Recitals like that come round only once a year. Or rather, they would do if Starker, who has not played in Paris since 1978, wasn't so unfairly ignored in France.

"The Paris Orchestra," says Starker, for example, "is with the New York Philharmonic the world's worst orchestra. Not that it has bad musicians, far from it. But just as you can't hold it against incompetent musicians for playing incompetently, so excellent musicians who behave like ten-year-



Daniel Barenboim: "The little Napoleon who frequently forgets to stay home and work for free."

## Catastrophic Carmen

THE DECOR? Since Karajan changed his mind, returning after a distinctly more ambitious *Tetralogy* to painstaking realism in the *Die Meistersinger*, Günther Schneider-Siemssen's mammoth productions are increasingly repudiating their megalomaniac tastes.

The place given to the overly meticulous Seville tobacco manufacturer can be forgiven, as can be — at a pinch — the monumental supporting arches of the arena in the final act. But you couldn't imagine a more horrid cheap colour print on a chocolate box than the Lillas Pastia tavern, or a more ridiculous smugglers' mountain hideout than this huge gothic bridge skirting the edge of the sea — a bridge along which trudges an endless succession of bearers which would take at least a squadron of gipsy women to pass through without being spotted by the customs men.

Does the musical interpretation

Herbert von Karajan is conducting *Carmen* at the Salzburg Festival and tickets are going for fabulous prices on the black market. But artistically, Karajan's *Carmen* is a disaster.

help Karajan to take his revenge. Alas, no. It grieves you to see the old maestro turning in a performance of absolute clarity with a Vienna Philharmonic quick to respond with fresh sounds, but devoid of inner life and completely gutted of its aggressiveness and fervour. It is a brilliant and soulless performance all wrapped up in cellophane and good for the tourists flocking to Salzburg from the four corners of the earth.

Moreover, can we understand why Karajan lays down his baton in the middle of this evening at Lillas Pastia, why Bizet is interrupted for a lengthy flamenco interlude provided by Madrid's Spanish Ballet such as might be laid on for a light-asleep tourist?

This intolerable conception moreover backfires on the show,

olds are real pigs. What I'm telling you now I've already told a New York newspaper. It's not surprising I'm not invited to Paris."

**Question:** But why do you come so rarely to France?

Starker: Conductors don't like me. And then, from an American viewpoint, your fees are peanuts. There are three reasons for playing abroad — artistic motives, career considerations, financial advantages. None of the three prompts me to come to France. If I played at the Prades Festival, it was out of pleasure and because Casals invited me here exactly 30 years ago.

**You like festivals?**

There isn't a city, village or university that can do without one. So let's speak rather of summer concerts. A festival deserves its name only if it provides an experience different from that of big cities during the year.

Look at these Americans who never attend a concert at home and spend their summers at big festivals in Europe. They get their dose of music for the whole year. Later, if they are asked to subsidise an orchestra, they just don't want to know. They've had their fill.

When I came to America 38 years ago, the musical seasons were very short, roughly between 28 and 36 weeks, and the musicians were not paid for the full year. The festivals were devised to help them balance their budgets and spare them the trouble of having to become lifeguards and insurance salesmen. Now all American orchestras have their summer residences. In Hungary, there are festivals everywhere and right round the year. It's one way of attracting tourists and earning foreign currency.

**And music is the loser in the process?**

That has no effect on it. Any more than the competitions which are also proliferating. I have opposed them during 40 years and refused to sit on panels judging difference. A good musician will always make a career one day. Winning a competition will help him gain a little time.

**Do you like the cello?**

I hate it when I have to walk long distances down airport corridors. As for the rest, work, technique, I don't like talking about it.



Janos Starker: "The man whose inner warmth freezes the air around him."

My cello and I are anonymous. What I aim at is to get the listener to forget my problems. I've always loathed cellists who put on an expression of suffering to get public sympathy. People don't come to watch our antics but to listen to music.

**What do you think of Rostropovich?**

That's another style, another kind of playing, a world different from mine. It's with him that the public has fun, not with Bcl or Beethoven. Don't think I'm jealous. Nobody steals someone else's recital. It's only young people who believe in such rivalry. Besides, I've heard Rostropovich play the cello exactly as it should be played.

**Do you think Casals was a great conductor?**

Can we really talk of conducting? He conducted, right, we must all be able to conduct, that's part of the profession. I also happen to pick up the baton, but I don't take myself to be a conductor for all that. Very good musicians who are not conductors have spent their lives conducting. Conductors who are not dilettantes can be counted today on two hands.

**What does your teaching consist of?**

Upsetting students. I'm not interested in what they can do. I concentrate only on what's impossible for them. But music is first and foremost a question of awareness. If someone plays badly and is satisfied with it, there's nothing you can do for him.

(August 14)

By Jacques Lonchamp

cannot understand how he could have attracted Carmen's attention even for a single moment. What's more, he has problems with his voice, assailing between nearly inaudible pianissimi, falsetto passages and blustering shrieks that end up making him look ludicrous.

Fiamma Izzo d'Amico, a blonde Gretchen who seems to have been made up to look exaggeratedly ugly, commands more respect with a voice whose tones are golden smooth with a touch of resonance. José Van Dam turns in a respectable performance as Escamillo; it is well controlled, perhaps a trifle boxed in by Karajan's accompaniment. It is Michel Sénéchal, more than any one else who injects some life into the production with his easy style, wisecracks and pranks in the minor role of Don José, where he is ably supported by Helz Zednik (Remendado) and Jane Berblé (Mercedès).

(August 20)

## Casals's shadow on every concert...

PRADES IS, along with Aix-en-Provence, the most famous of French music festivals. In many respects, it is also the most precarious, the least adapted to both fashionable ceremonies and a rush of tourists. This is where during almost 30 years, from 1950 to 1987, the first cellist to gain an international reputation, the man who "put the cello on the podium", used to host the world's finest musicians. Pablo Casals reigned here, as he did elsewhere, like a thunderous Jupiter of the bow. But he was also something more — conductor, composer, stout defender of Catalan culture, a man implacably opposed to fascism who had taken up residence here on this side of the Pyrenees, reminding Franco of his "no" with the least of his sarabandas. And applauding him was also one way of being on this side.

Pablo Casals's name is still a password today in Prades and his shadow lies over every concert. Michel Lethiec, the young artistic director who has been responsible for the renewal these past five years — he is a clarinetist in the cello's holy of holies — realises the advantages of this formidable connection and tries very hard to ensure that the cello retains the primordial place traditionally reserved for it.

Leonard Rose, the cellist of a brilliant trio whose other members were Isaac Stern and Eugene George Istomin, helped him until his death two years ago. Though a pianist, 94-year-old Mieczyslaw Horowitz, a great friend of Casals and a familiar figure of the great period, conforms this year to that spirit of mandatory participation. And so has Janos Starker, the nephew from America, rated number one by his fellow players and so unloved by French orchestras. Starker the untamed, Starker Prometheus. For one single evening, he was the cello in all its glory: Prades refound.

But what next? Michel Lethiec dreams of restoring the festival's reputation comparable with what it was in the past (save, obviously, for Casals's twinkling eyes) and firmly different from the usual run of festivals: a hardcore of friends for a programme ranging from the sonata to the nonet, great soloists to keep the level very high, resident artists brought in to run master classes with students being given the possibility, at the end of the course, to give their own concerts in different places. The Prades Festival would then come closer to being a great academy of chamber music standing out as a unique and obligatory beacon amid the 400 festival-type musical events that take place all over the Languedoc-Roussillon during the summer.

The choral centre is also working. This is nothing original, but helps to keep the pot on the boil at a time when trainee singers, who are still very plentiful, no longer find places to go to. The prize awarded this year was the right to sing in Haydn's "Creation", sung rather indifferently (by Michèle Pena, Marcel Quillevère and Jean-Jacques Doumbé). It was conducted by a conductor without authority (Wilfried Boettcher) and miraculously saved from going off the rails by a determined orchestra (Britain's Northern Sinfonia).



## Will history repeat itself in Museveni's Uganda?

KAMPALA — She was 15, no more. But because malevolent folk suspected she was the secretary of the former army commander-in-chief in Milton Obote's time, she was arrested and held for five weeks at Kampala's Republic House, the defence ministry headquarters. She was the only woman among many other detainees. Under the previous regimes, she would probably not have survived such a misadventure. Today, thanks to efforts by people close to her, she is again free. That's a step forward, but it stops there.

Ugandans agree that far fewer people are being killed today. But however much he claims to be respectful of human rights, Yoweri Museveni who has been in power in Kampala for six months is having a hard time fitting deeds to words. Arbitrary arrests — often on denunciations — are increasing. Gaols are full to overflowing and on Museveni's own admission army barracks are again being used as detention centres.

The police force has been reduced to some 3,000 men and they are in no position to carry out the usual law enforcement chores. The judicial system is clogged up by a backlog of cases it cannot cope with. So, as in the past, it is the men in uniform who are once again calling the shots. Now the frequently vaunted social graces of the National Resistance Army (NRA) guerrillas just aren't apparent. Missing the power they have, they no longer hesitate to take liberties with the freedom of other people, exactly as their predecessors had done: all the more so, as they have not been paid their wages, they naturally look around for ways and means of obtaining the pocket money they do not have.

"Back to the law of the jungle soon?" was the headline that the daily Focus ran recently in discussing the various brutalities committed by NRA soldiers: near Masaka, a passenger in a taxi gunned down at a roadblock because he was not quick enough opening his bags; a detainee at the Luzira gaol killed because he refused to go back to his cell. And so on.

Even the weekly Topic, which is reputed to reflect the views of the left wing of the National Resistance Movement (NRM), the NRA's political arm, expressed concern some time ago about the lack of discipline prevailing among soldiers in the north of the country. "The Gulu district has become a sanctuary for criminals," it noted. "Armed robberies are reported there every day and sometimes cold-blooded murders. Arrests are also made on the basis of false information..."

"We aren't magicians," protests Information Minister Abubaker Mayanja, who denies all these accusations and expresses contempt for those who hawk them. "Ugandan newspapermen have no training. Moreover they don't have either cars or phones for checking

out the rumours they spread..." If he is to be believed, at the very most, these are just the occasional slip-ups which in any case have resulted in some one hundred NRA soldiers being placed under "arrest".

Foreigners resident in the country are worried by the perceptibly worsening conditions in the past two months or so and which was evidenced by the killing of a member of the French embassy security staff, a British teacher in Kampala and an Australian Franciscan priest in the eastern part of the country. Whether these are ordinary criminal incidents or not, the fact is civil peace leaves much to be desired. "No white was killed from July 1985 to January 1986 during General Tito Okello's turbulent term of office," noted one diplomat.

Acting on behalf of the donor organisations and countries, the World Bank has just given the local authorities a list of some 12 vehicles that were stolen in Kampala between the end of April and mid-July. The drive to check the ownership of vehicles has reached its limits because the green stickers that are put on the windshields of cars that have been cleared following inspection are now being traded under the counter.

The authorities are taking a firmer line in the hope of regaining control of the situation. Museveni has promised disciplined soldiers would be executed and ordered law enforcement officers to open fire at night on all suspicious elements without asking questions. A Kampala neighbourhood "resistance committee" even took upon itself the right to order a woman who had bought sugar on the blackmarket to be flogged in public. The district's special administrator, John Kasooro, upheld the legality of the sentence since it had been handed down by a committee directly elected by the people.

It has to be said that the political honeymoon is now truly over, and Museveni and his men are somewhat isolated in power. Nothing astonishing about that: the new government could not wipe out in six months the traces left by almost 20 years of anarchy and violence. Nevertheless, the fact remains that many Ugandans expected more from the NRA. The country is a long way from complete pacification. The situation is still confused in the northern Gulu region which is subject to raids and ambushes by roaming armed bands of former soldiers who come down from Sudan. Between Soroti and Moroto in the northeast, the redoubtable Karamojong warriors, who are better equipped than ever, launch murderous forays that government troops will not dare try to stop.

All the same, how can this 100,000-strong "political army" combat "not only the foes without but also the reactionaries within"



Museveni close contacts with Colonel Dada.

as the new leaders would like them to do. The NRA forms the hard core of the army where it is in a minority even though it has taken care to keep the command posts for itself. There was nothing Museveni and his men could do but take the ragtag and bobtail into the army, even former soldiers of Idi Amin Dada, "infiltrate" it in this way and much against their own wishes with men whose allegiance to their cause is manifestly above all suspicion.

What is true for the army is certainly true for the coalition government where there is a makeshift coexistence of political groups which far from share the

By Jacques de Barrin

same views on the future of the country and manage less and less well to conceal their ambitions behind the vague and vulnerable idea of a national consensus. "We're seated around the same table beside big elements," pointed out Mayanja. "They have reached the end of the road, but we're at the start."

At any rate, it is impossible for the moment to dispense with the services of these politicians whether they belong to the Democratic Party (DP), which was the major opposition party in Obote's time, or representatives of the former ruling majority, or even faithful followers of Amin Dada, since Museveni has finally given the tourism portfolio to Moses Ali, who used to be the former dictator's finance minister.

Political life is gradually beginning to assert itself. Obote's followers are becoming active again and the underground movement known as ROBA (Force Obote Back Again) is in the news once more. As for the DP's "legalists", they are forever grousing about the NRM for not playing by the rules of the power-sharing arrangement. "It speaks in everybody's name without consulting its other partners in the government," they complain. "We have no choice but to shut up." The other side is no less bitter. "Until now no DP minister has publicly upheld the government in which they were ever held high posts," retorts Mayanja. A dialogue of the deaf.

True, the NRM has given an

inkling of its intentions. In this respect, the 60-page cyclostyled "Master Book", which serves as the basis of the politicisation campaign, is very illuminating. The authors of this tract revile imperialism and neocolonialism which they say are the cause of all of Uganda's problems. The Soviet Union and China are made out to be "genuinely anti-imperialist" countries, while Colonel Gadafy is described as an "authentic pan-Africanist". Socialism, combined with the idea of popular democracy, is a step towards communism, a system in which — say the authors — moral and intellectual values reach full fruition. In this working paper, which is far more radical than the "ten-point programme", DP members are tagged as "opportunists" and Bagandas and Catholics as "agents of British colonialism".

These ideas are developed in secondary schools during civic instruction periods, at NRM political education centres and also on television twice or thrice a week, and in the evening during peak viewing hours in a programme called "Rebuilding Uganda". Would these be just theoretical views? Not quite for Museveni and his people have begun to lay the groundwork for a "new democracy" quite different from bourgeois parliamentary democracy. The "new democracy" is underpinned by the "resistance committees" which have been set up at every echelon of the local administration. As for the future constitution and the general election promised in four years' time, they remain a total mystery.

Foreign policy readjustments? While he keeps inveighing against self-interest and often ill-advised aid from Western countries and international organisations, Museveni is trying to widen the circle of his contacts. The presence of Soviets, East Germans and Cubans does not quite go unnoticed. Or of the Libyans either. At the end of March Tripoli took in a good 100 Ugandans who went there to learn how popular revolutionary committees work. And if the Kampala muozzins are again calling the faithful to prayer, it is because Colonel Gadafy is said to have donated loudspeakers to them.

All these things seem to herald a shift that is worrying a number of Ugandans earning a monthly wage being the Bagandas who form the country's biggest ethnic group and who are pressing for their due now that they have helped Museveni seize power. The friction is mounting between the two sides. The anti-corruption drive is irritating these born merchants who want to go about their business unhindered. The political enlistment is not to these liberals' liking. And the government's refusal to restore the kingdom of Buganda that Milton Obote abolished 20 years ago is making monarchist circles very unhappy.

Catholics are also demanding a say in things. Do they not represent almost half the population? In a pastoral letter published at the end of June, the country's bishops considered they were "entitled to pass judgment on the various political ideologies" and openly opted for a multiparty system "through the structures of universal suffrage, general elections and political parties". Commenting on the "Master Book", the Ugandan bishops warned the government against "tendentious interpretations" and "false assertions" that deny man's religious dimension and "may lead to indoctrination".

If Museveni could point to an economic recovery, some of the detractors would perhaps moderate their criticism. But, unfortunately, this is not the case. In a Ugandan government-sponsored report, a group of international experts recently described the situation as "alarming" and called on the government to put the country back on its feet without delay or it risked facing early bankruptcy. They pointed out, for example, that government spending has increased four times faster under the new government than it did under Obote. The weekly Topic recently criticised the government for allegedly planning to buy some 100 Mercedes cars for a cabinet consisting of some 50 members.

Apart from a few measures taken at the end of May, the economic programme is one of inaction. The budgetary year began on July 1, but there was no budget. The \$161 million rehabilitation programme was met only to the tune of some \$30 million by the donors. Investors are still not prepared to lay their money out on Uganda. Everybody wants to know the precise intentions of the ruling group which up to now has been paralysed by an internal tussle between proponents of economic liberalism and a command economy. The group of experts proposes shock therapy — devaluation of the Ugandan shilling, reductions in public service manning levels and halving the size of the cabinet.

It is not easy to evaluate the struggle for influence going on in the corridors of power between radicals and moderates. It is not easy either to shed light on the slow process by which decisions are made. Anxious to head off any clashes between rival clans in his own entourage, Museveni cannot ignore what is happening elsewhere on the political spectrum where certain people are trying to fill his plans. For example, the DP which is well entrenched in several regions controls a good many "resistance committees" to the great displeasure of NRM officials irritated at seeing the worm getting into the fruit.

Everything appeared simple to these guerrillas when they were out in the bush. Now, with power in their hands, they are discovering that handling people is less easy than handling ideas. It is less, for example, to launch a relentless campaign against corruption. But how do you go about punishing gaudians earning a monthly wage equivalent to the price of three packs of cigarettes or two bunches of plantains from trying to supplement their incomes by every possible means? Museveni recently recalled the time in the underground when his soldiers marched in step without asking questions.

Today Museveni wears a bullet-proof vest and drives around in an armoured Mercedes which is followed by a Land-Rover on which is mounted a machine gun. The guerrilla leader has become a head of state, and he shoulders its privileges and drawbacks. Feeling the ground giving under his feet, will he not tend to break with the old order of things rather than put up with it? Or will he give in to temptation of totalitarianism? Those who fear that recall Amin Dada's triumphant arrival in power, then the slow descent into the Ugandan hell. Will history be repeated?

(August 20)

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# The Washington Post

## Military Spending Diminishes Power

By Hobart Rowen

JAPAN'S rising economic power contrasts with declining American influence. As the United States slips into unenviable debtor-nation status it may owe the rest of the world \$500 billion by the early 1990s, Japan emerges as the world's leading creditor nation.

How did this dramatic change take place? In a compelling essay published by a New York think tank, the World Policy Institute, Sherle R. Schwenninger and Jerry W. Sanders suggest that Japan's rise to the top illustrates "the central emerging reality of our time — namely, that geoeconomics is replacing geopolitics."

The Japanese have shown that a dedicated nation with a strong work ethic can gain power and status in the world without following the military route — the one that the two authors say has been chosen by the United States. Japan instead has placed its bet on industrial and technological development and trade.

The authors charge that the Carter and Reagan administrations have devoted too great a proportion of financial and human resources to military competition with the Soviets. They eroded America's economic strength, and thus its foreign policy position. "By most critical measures — competitiveness, productivity growth, capital investment, indebtedness — the U.S. economic position has deteriorated vis-à-vis that of many other industrialized countries, particularly West Germany."

There can be no contesting that President Reagan, influenced by the passionate anti-Soviet commitment of Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, has allowed an unrestrained military buildup that America has been unwilling to pay for. It is no exaggeration to say that the country has borrowed to the hilt to finance a bloated military budget, and that this

overcommitment is a root cause of its current economic distress.

When President Reagan took office in 1981 he promised to end the Carter malaise: he would balance the budget by 1984, reduce inflation, lower unemployment and promote economic growth. What has resulted instead is a debt-ridden domestic and world economy ready to slip into a new recession. Yes, inflation has been reduced, but that is the result of the Federal Reserve's credit crunch that started in 1979, accompanied by collapse of OPEC oil prices.

To pay for Mr. Weinberger's extravaganzas, the administration has not raised taxes but instead allowed the budget deficit to expand, bringing high interest rates and an overvalued dollar.

In a real sense, the budget deficit is being financed by the savings of people living abroad. Between 1982 and 1986 the United States borrowed more than \$400 billion overseas.

Countries that once turned to the United States will look more and more to Japan. It can be assumed that if Japan, rather than the United States, is in a position to provide the capital to the rest of the world, it will also provide the technology, the capital goods and the managerial know-how. Financial power becomes economic power, and both enhance a country's standing in the world.

The solution is to cut back the huge budget deficit and stop pouring wealth down a military drain. Ways must be found to achieve arms control and détente with the Soviet Union and thus regain the means to finance a revitalization of the American economy and that of the Third World. This would not derail the strong march of Japan toward world economic dominance. But it could slow down, and possibly reverse, America's present sickening plunge.

## Fifty Stealth Fighters Believed To Be Operational

By George Wilson

THE United States has about 50 radar-eluding "stealth" jet fighters fully operational under a top secret multibillion-dollar programme, informed sources say.

Several squadrons of stealth fighters are hidden in hangars in the Nevada desert near Tonopah. To avoid detection, the planes fly at night under the control of the air force's Tactical Air Command. A mysterious plan that crashed in California on the night of July 11 was a stealth fighter on a training mission, the sources say.

The air force, which originally planned to buy 100 stealth fighters, is now expected to settle for about 50 because of high costs and other budget demands, according to one knowledgeable source.

The cost of the stealth programme is in dispute. One source estimates that it will total \$7 billion, and that the cost per plane already exceeds \$100 million, including development costs. But other Defense Department officials say this estimate is too high. The most sophisticated fighters now in public view, the F15, cost about \$40 million each.

There has been speculation that

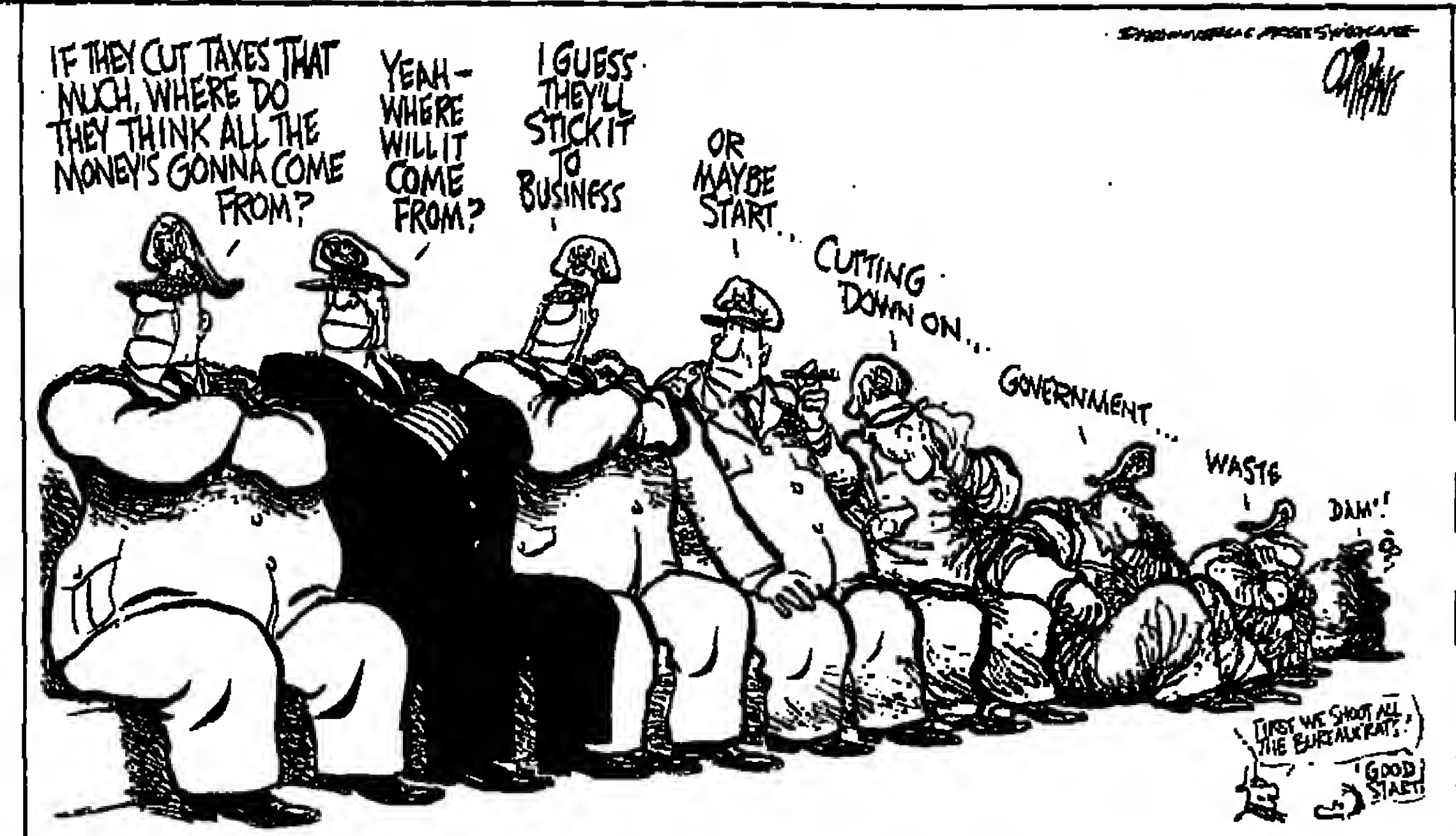
developed in Lockheed's "skunk works", but compared to the sleek Blackbird, the stealth fighter looks ugly because of its bulging shape.

Nevertheless, air force officers are excited about the stealth fighter's ability to elude detection by radar and infra-red systems. Many of the breakthroughs are being built into the B1B bomber, and almost all of them will be included in the air force's Advanced Technology Fighter (ATF) being developed for the next century, officials say.

Each ATF is supposed to cost no more than \$35 million, a figure that some air force officials doubt can be achieved, given the experience with the cost of stealth technology on the Lockheed Stealth and Northrop bomber.

The stealth fighter has one basic purpose: to sneak up on a target at relatively slow speed, launch a missile or bomb, and run home before the enemy realise what hit them. The stealth fighter is not as fast or as agile as the supersonic F15 fighter, sources say, and might not be a match in a close-range dogfight with the most sophisticated Soviet fighters.

The stealth fighter is a derivative of the SR71 Blackbird, also



## The Colonel And His Home-Made Gun

By Jeffrey Goldberg

WASHINGTON — Flight leader Robert George Dilger was the first to spot the approaching MiGs — at least 16 of them flying down the coast of North Vietnam. The decorated fighter pilot ordered his squadron to attack.

He headed for the tail of a low-flying MIG, got it in his sights, pushed the button to fire. Nothing happened.

He tried again. The missile system still wouldn't work, but he closed the gap, tailing the MIG into enemy territory. He pulled his jet tight on top of the fighter and, the story goes, rode the MIG into the ground. Dilger got the kill.

The gladiator spirit that Dilger brought to the defense of his country won him the respect of generals and appears to be one of two obsessions that drive him. The other, his quest for better, cheaper weapons, landed him in the Arlington County, Va., jail last week and touched off a federal investigation.

Dilger, accused of firing a home-made anti-tank gun at an Arling-

ton gasoline station, was apparently trying to sell the weapon to the government. Dilger's friends, interviewed last week, said the former Air Force colonel was not doing it for the money, although he has had serious financial problems since he left the service in 1980.

Friends and colleagues portray Dilger, 54, as a man who produced millions in savings on a munitions program but who continually missed his mortgage and tax payments and fell deeply into debt. They describe him as a brusque, bureaucrat-bashing weapons designer who, motivated by his experiences with malfunctioning machinery in Vietnam, became convinced that he could make an inexpensive anti-tank gun better than anyone else.

"This was his one goal — he thought the Pentagon and the defense industry had no idea how to make a decent, reliable tank killer," a congressional official familiar with Dilger said. "The colonel had a track record — he

knew how to cut costs and he knew quality control. A lot of people thought he could do it. We just don't know what went wrong."

None of his friends knows what went wrong the other afternoon. Police say that Dilger, who was drinking before the incident, may have left a shell in the 8-foot-long, 30mm gun, which he stored in the back of his 1982 green Dodge pickup truck. When he moved the weapon during a stop at the Columbia Texacare Service Station on Columbia Pike, it fired, blowing up a gasoline pump and injuring four people.

Dilger, who won three Silver Stars and four Distinguished Flying Crosses in 180 combat missions in Vietnam, was released on bond after he and the passenger, Joseph R. Donahue, 40, a former Navy pilot, were charged with manufacturing, transporting and firing an explosive device.

Since he left the Air Force in 1980, Dilger has traveled in a circle of former military men who share his conservative political outlook and his unconventional views on military procurement and weapons development.

Dilger is famous in some military circles. He won widespread acclaim for his work on the GAU-8 gun, an air weapon military analysts call one of the most effective and efficiently developed weapons in the history of the armed forces. In the early 1970s, the Pentagon needed a small armor-piercing shell that could knock out tanks from jet-mounted GAU-8 cannons. The only problem: 1973 estimates stated that the 11-inch-long, 30mm shells would cost \$85 each, and the Pentagon wanted 60 million rounds. Enter Col. Robert Dilger, the ammunition program's procurement officer.

What Dilger did was simple and obvious, analysts said. He ordered the ammunition designers to redesign, using cheaper materials, then he initiated a competitive procurement process, pitting Aerojet Ordnance Co. against Honeywell Ordnance Co. The companies continued to knock their prices down, and the lower bidder received financial incentives to keep the price low.

By 1982 the shells cost about \$12 each, according to published reports. Honeywell and Aerojet turned sizable profits, selling 68 million of the shells.

## Justice mirrors society

Continued from page 12

lives and be accepted by society.

A society where nothing happens is of course a dead society. When people clash, when they disagree, it's up to society as a whole, but at its lowest level, at the level of the neighbourhood or even the block itself, to settle such differences. What frightens me is that every time there's a dispute people react by calling in public safety specialists — policemen and gendarmes — who have no intention of settling matters of this sort amicably. Moreover, they are not trained for this and most often,

reduce such conflicts to a question of law enforcement.

I tend to think that repression is absolutely not a solution, that we must try to settle these disputes as between people living the same lives, doing the same jobs, and especially not like certain people who practise self-defence by arming themselves and reaching for their weapons at the least sign of a danger they take to be serious.

When we speak of insecurity, we should know what that means. It is insecurity connected to crime?

Most people who think about it consider it is not, it is linked to unemployment, problems in day-to-day living, the risks of war. But it is in the government's interest to point the finger at something that draws attention away. "Insecurity is linked to crime, it's linked to immigration." It's a shocking equation, and people tend to look at what's pointed out, and not to think of anything else, whereas the insecurity of their everyday lives is related to social causes.

(August 16)



## The Washington Post

### U.S. And A Test Ban

AGAIN Mikhail Gorbachev extends Moscow's unilateral moratorium on underground nuclear testing, this time until January and with a challenge to Washington to follow the Soviet example and then sign a test ban treaty at an early summit meeting. Again the Reagan administration denounces both the gesture and the idea of a test ban, describing the moratorium as propaganda and a ban as an obstacle to essential programs of building new weapons and ensuring the reliability of old ones. What is the conscientious citizen to think?

Some see testing as the ignition key to the whole arms race. Turn off the key and the motor will kick out. But there is more than a trace of fantasy here. In a world in which the United States must rely indefinitely on nuclear arms to deter threat or attack, it makes sense to perform the testing necessary to have safer, smaller and more stable weapons. There is no good reason why this should be incompatible with negotiating tighter test limits — down to the level where verifiability and military necessity meet.

Demonstrably, however, President Reagan's nuclear programs and attitudes have persuaded many Americans that his intent in testing goes beyond those relatively benign objectives, and that he is jeopardizing chances of topping off and reducing the Soviet and American arsenals. Thus has he afforded Mr. Gorbachev the room to play, artfully, to the anxious international gallery. The Soviet leader has extended the moratorium to the point where even some American experts now ask whether it is starting to hurt Soviet military programs. And frontally, although not fully, he has addressed American fears of Soviet cheating by letting a private American group actually begin on-site monitoring near the principal Soviet test site and by opening the experts' talks on verification that the Reagan administration long had sought.

It was no surprise, then, that earlier this month the Senate called on the administration, in a 84-25 vote, to resume negotiations with Moscow at once on ending all nuclear tests. The House of Representatives went on to block funds for all but very small tests for a year, if the Kremlin does the same and accepts on-site verification. These steps highlighted a challenge to administration policy so broad that the president threatens to veto a defense bill that comes to him "in anything like the present House form."

But Mr. Reagan is not helpless to banish the unbecoming spectacle of an administration being dragged kicking and screaming to negotiation of a comprehensive test ban treaty. He could leapfrog this relatively minor issue by showing that he is doing his share to write the major agreements on European-based, offensive and space arms that the great powers are negotiating in Geneva. Or he could move purposefully to talks on restricting, as distinct from ending, underground tests. He ought to do both.

### What Is NASA Doing?

NASA'S MAIN PROBLEM now has to do not with safety or its budget, but with lack of clarity as to its goals. In the wake of the Challenger disaster the White House has 1) put the Air Force back in the space business in a major way, thereby reducing (although not eliminating) the military rationale for NASA's work, and 2) told NASA to curb the commercial ambitions that also sustained the shuttle program.

That leaves mainly scientific missions to be carried out. There are problems with these as well. Probes to Jupiter and the sun, scheduled for this year, have had to be put off. The shuttles that were to take them into space have been grounded — and serious safety questions have also been raised about the devices that were to propel them on their way after that.

Beyond these lies the space station, the most elaborate scientific project on NASA's list. When Challenger went down, NASA quickly began pressing for permission to replace it. In part the agency was seeking to rebuild its own self-confidence, but it will also probably need this fourth orbiter to build the space station, and thereafter to maintain it. Three orbiters might not be enough to keep up the necessary flight schedule.

The White House, after much agonizing over cost and other aspects of the decision, has now told the agency to go ahead and build the fourth orbiter, but to take the money out of its own funds. This would further complicate and stretch out the timetable for the space station, and no doubt for other functions of the agency as well.

NASA's budget is now in excess of \$7 billion a year. Whether that and the funds that can realistically be expected in the future are enough to sustain even the agency's newly attenuated program is not clear. Plainly NASA has to keep flying. To see why, you need only ask yourself what the reaction would be if it were announced tomorrow that the government was canceling the space program. For military and scientific reasons, for reasons of prestige and international competitiveness — because it's there — we will continue to send men and machines into space. But there needs to be a plan, and from this distance there appears to be mainly confusion now.

### Frontline States To Invite Reagan

DAR ES SALAAM — The leaders of the six black "frontline states" bordering South Africa will issue a joint invitation to President Reagan to visit the region for an urgent summit meeting with them, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, the chairman of the group, announced last week.

Kaunda, who made the announcement to mark the visit of the Rev. Jesse Jackson before the American black leader flew here on Sunday, said the purpose of the invitation was to help Reagan understand South Africa's aggressive role, which Kaunda said had brought the region to the edge of a racial "explosion." If Reagan could "not come to Africa," Kaunda said,

the frontline leaders would ask him to meet with them in Washington.

"The situation in southern Africa has reached boiling point," Kaunda said. "We are close to an explosion. History should not find us faulty that, realizing this, we did not go to the one man who could have done something about it."

This reflects a view widely held among black leaders here that strong U.S. sanctions could be decisive in forcing South Africa to dismantle apartheid and end white minority rule.

The request for an urgent meeting with the U.S. president, comes as pressures mount in the United

### More Pardons In Shin Bet Case

JERUSALEM — President Chaim Herzog, drawing what many officials here hope is the final curtain on a scandal that has threatened Israel's top internal security agency, Sunday pardoned seven members of the Shin Bet secret service for their role in the killing of two captured Palestinian bus hijackers and a subsequent cover-up.

In June, four top-ranking Shin Bet officials, including agency chief Avraham Shalom, were granted amnesty by Herzog. Those pardons — granting immunity from prosecution for any acts connected with the slaying — were upheld by the High Court earlier this month, clearing the way for Sunday's action.

All 11 have admitted involvement in the affair, which has come to symbolize the conflict between state security needs and the rule of law in this security-conscious nation. The two suspects were reportedly beaten to death by Shalom and his subordinates after being taken alive from a hijacked bus in April 1984. Evidence reportedly was tampered with or destroyed, and Shin Bet officials allegedly concocted testimony to blame the deaths on Army officials who had turned over the suspects to the security agency chief.

Herzog cited "exceptional and extraordinary" circumstances, "state security considerations and the good of the public" for granting the pardons, and he said the new amnesties were "a direct and logical continuation" of his decision to grant the previous ones. "Justice requires" that once he had pardoned the agency's senior officials, he pardon their subordinates as well, Herzog said.

Previously, Herzog has said he did not believe the security agency could survive exposure of its oper-

ations and methods at a public trial of those accused of the killings and cover-up and that he believed such exposure would severely damage Israel's security interests.

Prime Minister Shimon Peres has supported Herzog's stand, as has a substantial public majority, according to opinion polls that have found widespread support for the agency, whose head reports directly to the prime minister. However, Herzog on Sunday appeared to invite further public debate of the circumstances surrounding the hijackers' deaths and the pardons with an enigmatic declaration that he was "aware of

By Glenn Frankel

the difficult moral and ethical aspects connected with this affair, and I expect all the appropriate conclusions and lessons to be drawn from it."

Police officials did not comment, but they have indicated in the past that their investigation into the affair would continue despite the pardons. Legislators from both Israel's left and right wings suggested, however, that there was little point in continuing a probe when most, if not all, of its possible targets have been granted clemency in advance.

"The police do not do academic investigations, and if they cannot find guilty parties there is no point in a police investigation," said Yuval Neeman, leader of the rightist Tehiya Party.

One of the few possible targets remaining for the probe is Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, who was prime minister at the time of the hijacking incident, and who is scheduled to return to the post in October under a power-sharing

agreement with political rival Peres.

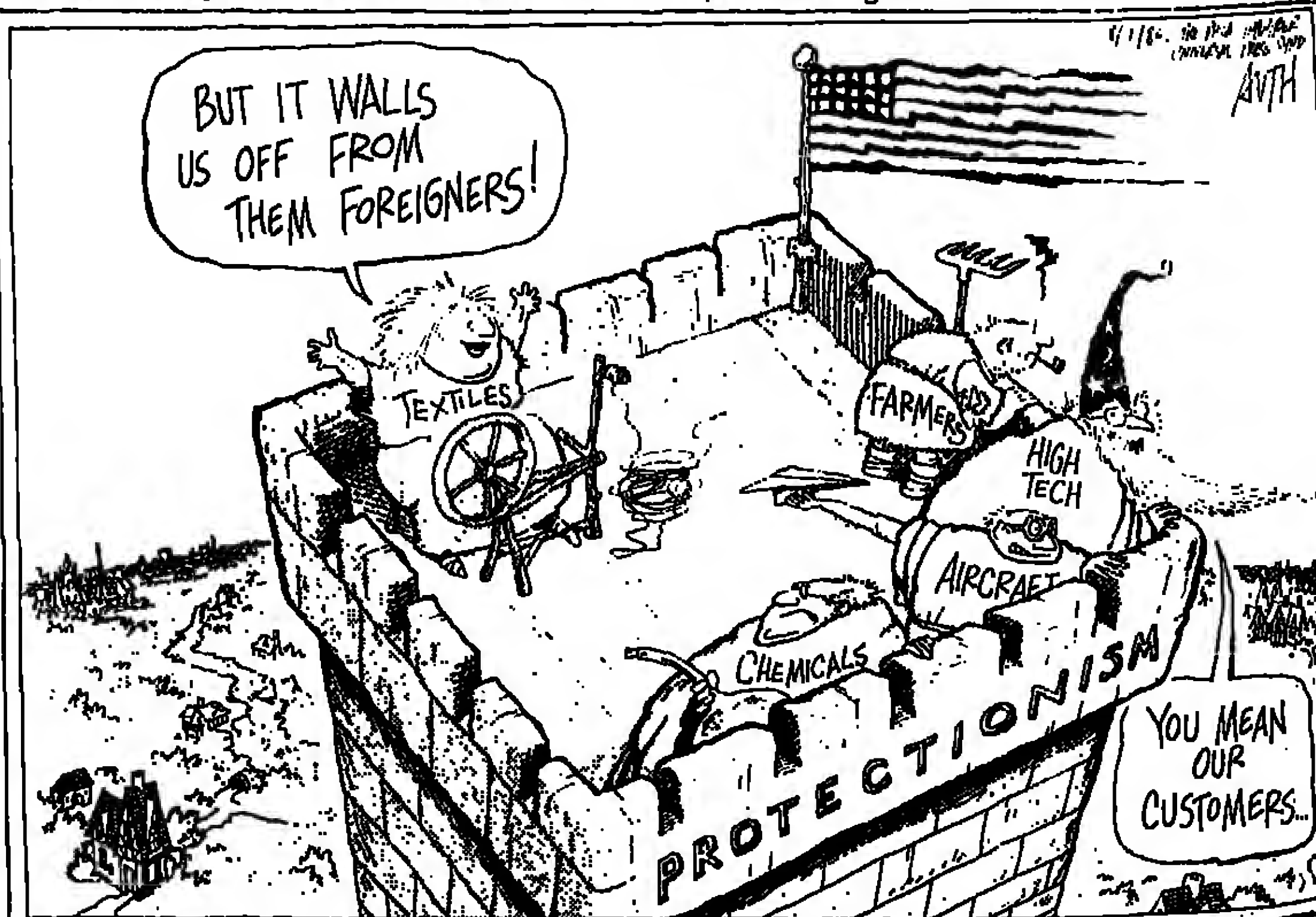
Shin Bet chief Shalom indicated in his written request for a pardon that he had authority from his civilian superiors — an apparent reference to Shamir — for a general "take no prisoners" policy when dealing with terrorist incidents. Shamir has denied such a policy existed.

The two Palestinians were captured after Army paratroopers stormed a bus filled with Israeli civilians that had been seized by four men near Ashkelon. Two of the suspects were killed during the assault, as was an Israeli passenger.

The Army first claimed that the two surviving suspects had been killed in the assault, but photographs published in violation of military censorship showed them being led away by Shin Bet men. Shalom then reportedly organized an elaborate cover-up, falsifying evidence before two government inquiries and placing the blame on Brig. Gen. Yitzhak Mordechai, who said he had beaten the two men in an effort to learn whether they had left explosives on the bus.

The cover-up unraveled late last year when Shalom's senior deputy, Reuven Hazuk, and two other officials went to Peres. He backed Shalom, who forced the resignation of the three men. Shalom has since resigned as well, although he remains in his post pending the naming of a successor.

Besides receiving pardons, the Shin Bet officials have not appeared to suffer any losses from exposure of the affair. All have remained with the agency except for Shalom, whose name has been mentioned in the press as a candidate for the post of adviser to the prime minister on terrorism once Shamir returns to that office.



By Allister Sparks

States and elsewhere in the West for stronger sanctions against South Africa, and after South Africa has announced retaliatory moves against black countries in the region that have joined international sanctions against it.

Kaunda said the decision to invite Reagan was made during a meeting of frontline leaders in Luanda, Angola, last week. The invitation would be sent to Reagan in 10 to 15 days. The frontline leaders have been strongly critical of Reagan for his reluctance to apply sanctions against South Africa, and both Kaunda and Jackson have accused the American president of having an inadequate understanding of South Africa's

role in the region.

Only two of the six frontline countries themselves, however, have imposed sanctions against South Africa. In Luanda Saturday, the frontline states commanded Zambia and Zimbabwe for joining in sanctions adopted Aug. 4 by much of the British Commonwealth. But the others — Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Tanzania — have not joined in the sanctions, nor have three other black neighbors of South Africa: Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi. Jackson has said that the U.S. policy on southern Africa is incoherent and "full of contradictions," pressuring South Africa, with sanctions while cutting aid to

Zimbabwe and supporting the UNITA rebels in Angola, which strengthens South Africa's ability to take counteraction.

In a joint statement the American black leader and Kaunda said the purpose of the meeting with Reagan should be to discuss a comprehensive U.S. policy for the region, which is being "strangled" by the tentacles of apartheid. "This policy," Jackson said, "should include aid to the frontline states, granting of most-favored-nation trade status to them, a long-term development plan and action to defend them against destabilization by South Africa. The statement also urged the United States to recognize the ANC.

### Prosperity And Repression Leave Mark On South Korea

SEOUL, South Korea — 9.30 p.m. on a humid night in July, sirens wailed and within minutes, this city of 10 million inhabitants seemed to vanish.

In houses and apartments, people scurried to switch off lights and draw curtains across windows. Cars and crowded buses pulled over and cut their headlights. Layer by layer, Seoul began to disappear. Soon the blackness was complete, the silhouettes of high-rise buildings the only hint of what is now the world's fourth-largest city.

Searchlights scanned the sky. To no one's surprise, they found no bombers from communist North Korea. This was a drill, an annual gauge of readiness for war, one of the routines of life in this highly disciplined society. Twenty minutes later, Seoul quickly reappeared as people flipped light switches on cue from radio and television.

President Chun Doo Hwan observed the spectacle that night from the 60th floor of Seoul's tallest office tower. In a way, it was a study in how the former Army general has tried to run South Korea — everyone pulling together, working toward some great national goal, asking few questions, obeying orders.

South Korea's 40 million people maintain near total unity against the north, which they fought in the 1950-53 Korean War. But increasingly, western diplomats and many Korean analysts say, they are questioning why this threat should mean they must live permanently under an authoritarian, militarily-installed government like Chun's.

Feelings are rife today that some fundamental change — no one can say what — is at hand for the government. A clock is ticking toward a deadline, 1988, the year the critical eyes of the world will be on the country as it hosts the summer Olympics, which begin in September.

This spring, people thronged the streets of eight major cities to protest Chun's six-year-old rule. Christian leaders began speaking with new boldness, and radical students stepped up their battles with police. Spirits were buoyed by the overthrow of former Philippine president Ferdinand Marcos in February.

For the present, government and opposition have a truce while they try to negotiate an amended constitution. "If they fail," said Park Chang Hee, a political science professor at Seoul's Dankook University, "we can expect major disturbances. The government might have to impose emergency measures."

In theory, the United States is a neutral bystander. But events unfolding here are crucial to U.S. security interests, starting with the 40,000 U.S. troops based in South Korea who would be drawn instantly into any war that erupts. Politically, the United States is courted, and resented, by government and opposition alike. Both sides see the stamp of approval of the country's great military patron as one of several attributes necessary to exercise stable political power.

This series will examine the paradoxical, intensely hostile societies of North and South Korea, and how each is applying radically different means to cope with tremendous pressures for change in the 1980s.

The south is racing into 20th century industrial affluence through capitalism, while its political system remains mired in old patterns of military authoritarianism. The opposition and the government are battling over selection of a successor for Chun, who has promised to step

down in 1988. The north, arguably the world's most closed and totalitarian state, has made big economic strides through state ownership, but has fallen behind the south. While boasting of sweeping away ancient customs, it is solving its own succession problem with the communist world's first father-to-son transfer of power.

Korea, a nation-state with a history of more than 2,000 years, was divided by the allies in 1945 at the close of World War II. Americans occupied the south and Soviets the north, establishing conflicting political systems. In 1948, South Korea was born as a state as talks toward reunification broke down. The north invaded in 1950, starting a fratricidal war that razed nearly every building and prompted intervention by U.S. and Chinese forces.

A stalemate in 1953 brought an end to the shooting, but not the hatred. South Korea has remained mobilized and ready for war, with about 600,000 troops at the ready. The signs of preparation for war are everywhere. Oil storage tanks are painted in camouflage. Railways have concrete shelters in which trains would hide from bombs. Intersections around Seoul include waist-high brick flower beds that in wartime would become gun emplacements.

Thus, the armed forces have gained bloated influence in society as a whole, reinforcing antidemocratic ideals left over from 2,000 years of Confucian autocracy and 35 years of Japanese colonial rule.

Under Confucian ideals, the state is an extension of the family, a rigid hierarchy in which people accept their stations and work together for the common good. Benevolence from above is rewarded by loyalty from below. Its influence pervades Korean society. Men and women eat separately. The language is larded with honorifics. When a political leader, government or opposition, meets with his subordinates, there is an air of a king holding court.

**'In its 38-year history, South Korea has never managed a peaceful transition of power. It has always been by street revolt, assassination or military coup.'**

"In his house, a man behaves like a king," remarks Prof. Park. "When he goes outside, an immediate change is not so easy." In its 38-year history, South Korea has never managed a peaceful transition of power. It has always been by street revolt, assassination or military coup.

Today the country has the institutions of democratic government, but power centers on one man, Chun. As an Army general, he seized control in stages after the 1979 assassination of another general-turned-president, Park Chung Hee. When citizens in Kwangju city, an opposition stronghold, rose in revolt in 1980, Chun sent in troops. By official count, 191 people died. Later he quit the Army, declared himself president, then wrote a new constitution and ran for a seven-year term. To no one's surprise, he won.

By many measures, Chun should be popular. The economy is humming along, inflation is low. Health is improving, telephones are proliferating and the Olympics are coming to town. But he is not liked, something even his own officials concede. When asked what they think of the "short, balding man, normally glib Korean" fall silent, but answer that, "a Saito-like worker." "But, please think about why I didn't," Chun, at times, treats every

spark of dissent as capable of setting his whole system aflame. Closing a literary journal, raiding an art exhibit, questioning people who visit a labor organizing center, all are fair play in his book. Visitors to Seoul can easily gain the impression that one in 10 of the city's able-bodied men are

**First of three articles by John Burgess**

employed as plainclothes policemen. Wearing windbreakers and jogging shoes, they loiter around subway stations, dissent offices and the headquarters of the opposition New Korea Democratic Party.

Yet, there is evidence that Chun has more vision than the average military president. Most important, he has promised to leave office voluntarily in 1988.

"His goal is to win respect in the history books," said a western diplomat. Chun is determined that the world be impressed when its eyes are cast on South Korea for the 1988 Olympics. This could be a crucial element in how he handles the opposition, making him more reluctant to deal out force and repression as the date approaches.

Ultimately, Chun justifies all of his controls by the threat from North Korea. The opposition rejects that logic. "For more than 30 years, we've been hearing about this invasion, but it has never happened," said Kim Young Sam, a senior opposition politician. He and others suggest that authoritarian rule undermines security by sapping public morale. Democratic government, the opposition argues, would make people feel they had something to fight for. West Germany, with its stable democracy, prosperity and comparative lack of fear of East Germany, is cited.

Chun's group is under fire from three groups: opposition politicians, church organizations and radical students. They work in loose alliance, not fully trusting one another, but willing to cooperate to oust the man they call a military dictator.

agreed to begin negotiating the change. A joint committee is now wrangling with the issue in the National Assembly and the opposition party has called off its street campaign.

The students, however, have not joined the political truce. There are close to 1 million people in South Korea's universities. Probably fewer than 10,000 take part in the ritual marches that are played out almost daily on campuses. Students call a rally, then riot police arrive in three times their numbers; one side or the other initiates violence. Police throw tear gas, students throw rocks and sometimes firebombs. Seen on American television, it looks like the country is exploding in revolution. Then the students scatter and police get back in their buses and eat box lunches. Within an hour, there is no sign of what took place.

Student activism has a lengthy pedigree in South Korea. Through the 1960s and '70s, its aim was liberal reform, "democratization." There is a key difference today: Many activists proudly declare themselves revolutionaries determined to overturn the entire order. Some listen to North Korean radio though there is no evidence the north directs them. Several hundred, concealing their backgrounds, have taken jobs in factories to organize strikes. Three have immolated themselves in protest this year.

They began stepping up pressure in May last year, seizing buildings, sending "ideology" letters to farmers and other students and attacking police lines. Labor groups picked up the pace, too. Radicals appear to have planned a May 3 riot in Incheon city, the most serious civil disturbance in South Korea since the Kwangju revolt of 1980. Police have responded with waves of arrests. In May last year, there were about 125 people detained by the opposition as political prisoners. Today the figure is 1,100 and growing.

The radicals also hate the United States intensely. "You can't say our nation is independent," said one activist in Seoul. Americans and Japanese are seen as exercising strangling control over the economy and government.

The party and church organizations back off from extreme ideas but do not disown those who hold them. Repression is driving honest people to violence and revolution, they say. Opposition moderates also share in some of the anti-Americanism. It is common to hear it said that when given the choice, the Americans will always support military over civilian rule.

This has not stopped the opposition from dreaming of the day when Washington will dump Chun, the way it did Marcos in the Philippines this spring. State Department papers criticizing Chun's human rights record are clandestinely circulated here. In opposition circles, meeting an American diplomat can be a stamp of legitimacy. Last month, opposition figure Kim Dae Jung scored a minor coup by getting invited to July 4th celebrations at the house of U.S. Ambassador Richard Walker.

There also is plenty of evidence that the Americans pack a strong punch at the Blue House. U.S. intervention appears to have saved Kim Dae Jung from execution on sedition charges five years ago. Last year, Walker argued against a government proposal to set up a redaction center for radical students. It was later dropped. In general, diplomats from the dispatch, eight-floor embassy on Sejong Avenue counsel moderation. Suppression of dissent will only benefit the radicals, they say.

For the present, the truce is holding. But, in typical fashion,

the two sides have painted themselves into opposing corners. Chun's Democratic Justice Party is proposing a cabinet form of government, with a prime minister to be selected by the National Assembly.

The opposition party, meanwhile, is crying foul. It continues to demand a system headed by a directly elected president, saying Chun's group feels it could manipulate the assembly but not a direct vote. "We need strong government to effectively control the military and to have a strong defense posture against the North Korea threat," declares Kim Dae Jung.

Whether the South Korean military would submit to that "control" remains the great unanswered question. Its generals rarely meddle in day-to-day politics, but by many accounts, they would quash any arrangement that radically altered their idea of good government. Chun continues to enjoy his former colleagues' strong support, analysts here say. It is the opposition that must watch out.

Next week: The south's "economic miracle."

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## White House Politics And Foreign Policy

**MORALITY, REASON AND POWER:**  
American Diplomacy in the Carter Years,  
By Gaddis Smith (Hill and Wang, 296 pp,  
\$18.95).

WAS Jimmy Carter's foreign policy a success or a failure? Certainly the list of Carter's successes set forth in this compact yet comprehensive book by historian Gaddis Smith is impressive, particularly when compared with this country's sparse record of concrete foreign policy achievements over the last five years. The Panama Canal Treaties that defused an explosive threat to hemispheric stability and unity, the signing of the SALT II Treaty and the full normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China, all concluded processes that Carter's Republican predecessors had tackled but not completed.

To that list can be added the Camp David Accords, which dramatically reduced the prospects of another Arab-Israeli war; the restoration of harmonious relations with NATO's southeast flank with Greece and Turkey; the conclusion of the Tokyo Round Trade Agreements; the construction of new and closer ties to Black Africa, including the disenfranchised majority in South Africa and the new state of Zimbabwe; the initiation of assistance to Afghanistan freedom fighters; the wholesale admission of refugees from Indochina; and the establishment of international human rights as a cardinal principle in American foreign policy. All these achievements and more are usefully and concisely set forth by Professor Smith, each in its historical context.

Yet virtually every chapter also reeks with the odor of failure.

History, the former president's defenders will maintain, will render a softer verdict, once political passions have subsided and Carter's deeds can be measured against the tests of time and his successors. But what is "history" if not the careful weighing and winnowing of conflicting claims by objective professionals? Drawing upon the published memoirs of key participants as well as extensive public information, Yale's distinguished professor of diplomatic history has taken a "first cut" at his profession's ultimate judgment on the Carter foreign policy, and he has entitled his concluding chapter, "Reflections: Why Carter Failed."

Why indeed? "Inexperienced Georgians staffing the White House," the usual scapegoats targeted by Carter's critics, did not significantly shape foreign policy. On the contrary, Carter's appointees at State, Defense, CIA, the National Security Council, the United Nations, the Arms Control Agency and elsewhere, including his ambassadors abroad, were men and women of remarkably high talent and strong convictions. Indeed, it was the very strength of those convictions — particularly the clashing convictions of Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski — that, in Professor Smith's view, did more than anything else to undermine Carter's foreign policy.

Vance, the cautious establishmentarian, negotiator and troubleshooter, who emphasized reason and persistence in the allevi-



Drawing by Gary Visnapic for the Washington Post

ation of world problems, is identified here with the "primacy of principle." Brzezinski, the impatient Polish-born intellectual, "close to contemptuous of Vance" and the soft "elite" he represented, who emphasized military superiority and solutions, is identified here with the "primacy of power." As Brzezinski became a highly visible spokesman for the administration on many issues, Vance stuck by his belief that only the president and secretary of state should speak for the nation on foreign policy. Their contrasting philosophies, writes Professor Smith, "crippled" the administration and "affected every major policy and decision," particularly U.S.-Soviet relations, arms control, China, Africa and Iran.

With each passing year, the conflict between them — submerged in the 1976 campaign — widened. When Vance finally resigned in 1980, his disagreement over the Iran rescue mission was only the last straw, according to Smith. His book is open in its admiration for the former secretary, but barely conceals his disdain for his fellow academic.

But to place all blame on the national security adviser for an administration's failures abroad is to blame the concertmaster for the symphony orchestra's dissonance. Although Brzezinski's role was crucial, the Carter administration's hopes for success were also hampered by a more assertive and skeptical post-Vietnam Congress, press, and opposition party, and by an intransigent Soviet Union mixed in the suspicions of its aging and ailing chief. More important, the person most responsible for the foreign policy reverses of Jimmy Carter was not Zbigniew Brzezinski or Ronald Reagan or Leonid Brezhnev but Jimmy Carter.

Having sought the presidency, writes Smith, with no significant foreign policy experience or goals other than a "philosophy of repentance" (that apparently appealed to liberal guilt over Vietnam), the former Georgia governor took office with no guide

By Theodore C. Sorensen

ment within the Executive Branch" on key issues. But that's what presidents are for — to decide, to choose, and to use either power or persuasion to bring dissenting appointments into line. Carter "saw Vance and Brzezinski as balancing each other," writes Smith; but, initially too inexperienced in foreign affairs to choose between their conflicting recommendations, he tried to ride both horses simultaneously, even when they were galloping off in different directions.

The result was constant delay — fatal in the case of SALT II's prospects for ratification — a reputation for ineptitude and ineffectiveness, an appearance of weak and indecisive leadership, and a series of flawed or half-way measures, including draft registration without a draft, an MX missile without a basing system, a Rapid Deployment Force that was neither rapid nor deployed, a secret Iranian rescue mission too small to succeed and too large to be kept secret, an embarrassingly mistaken crisis about a Soviet "brigade" in Cuba, another about an "invasion" in North Yemen, and an embargo on grain sales that penalized more American farmers than Soviets.

To be sure, all presidents compromise on their original goals. Some manage to look flexible or creative in doing so. When Carter compromised, he looked weak.

Struggling to overcome this politically fatal public perception in the year of his re-election and re-election campaign, Carter in 1980 permitted the total eclipse of Vance by Brzezinski and moved so completely to an anti-Soviet, pro-military stance, according to Smith, that it subverted all his original priorities: human rights, nuclear non-proliferation, restrictions on covert operations and arms sales, and attention to Third World economic and political justice. He backed away from a nuclear test ban treaty and asked the Senate to suspend consideration of the SALT II Treaty.

The results merely added an appearance of inconsistency to that of ineffectiveness. It was too late for Carter to embrace the militant nationalism he had initially deplored — the "hawks" would not believe him and the "doves" would not support him. "Ronald Reagan," concludes Professor Smith, "made the same appeal more convincingly and thereby brought the Carter Administration to its end."

Like many of the political judgments in this book, that conclusion is a little too pat. Although this nation's anger over the hostages in Iran contributed mightily to its sense of a powerless president, public concern over runaway inflation, interest rates and budget deficits switched far more voters than Ronald Reagan's confrontational foreign policy rhetoric or Jimmy Carter's frustrating foreign policy failures. But presidents and their advisers for years to come would do well to examine the unraveling of the Carter administration's enormous potential for success in foreign affairs; and Gaddis Smith's book will be an immensely useful guide to that study.

Theodore C. Sorensen, former counsel to President John F. Kennedy, practices law in New York City.

## World chess the sport for participants

THE official view of the World Chess Championship is that it is a contest over 24 games between two mighty Russians. This is nonsense. In fact, the championship is not one contest but a million, lasting not 24 games but some colossal number approaching infinity, and involving not only Kasparov and Karpov but thousands of attendant competitors endlessly playing and replaying, scratching and sweating, dissecting zillions of options. Chess is probably the only game in the world that cannot attract a single spectator — they are all participants.

And so the first-time visitor to the Park Lane Hotel, where the billions of world championship contests have been taking place over the past fortnight, is surprised first of all by how little actually happens in the fine old art-deco ballroom billed as the epicentre of the struggle. Here, in a tiny clearing among the advertising slogans, Gary Kasparov and Anatoly Karpov sit hunched over their private board, perpetually nodding, like two dogs in a car's rear window.

Kasparov is everyone's favourite. The miracle of geography which ensured that he was christened Gary and not Boris or Anatoly or Viktor has put him on first-name terms with the entire English-speaking chess world.

Gary's great talent is an ability to concentrate passionately on the chess board from any angle. From the moment he bounds on to the stage, a full three minutes ahead of Karpov, to the grudging shrug with which he finally agrees to an adjournment to Game 10, 8½ hours later, his eyes do not leave the board. Even when he slips out through some black curtains to haunt the backstage, Kasparov, you know, is watching.

Confronted by this kind of terrifying keenness from his opponent, Anatoly Karpov not unnaturally affects exactly the opposite air, a marvellously patronising nonchalance. Some time after Kasparov launches into the game's opening Queen's Gambit Declined, Karpov grudgingly takes his eyes off a fascinating area of ballroom wall, yawns, and looks down on the board to see what has happened.

Where Kasparov plays badminton to relax, Karpov scythes. This I learn from his curious autobiography — Chess is My Life — on sale in all the championship bookstalls. The book is full of photographs of Anatoly holidaying in Lithuania, riding a horse, fishing, and striding through fields of Lithuanian corn with his scythe over his shoulder in the manner popularised by Old Father Time.

Even when he is fishing, Karpov exudes an air of raw cunning and natural malice. The terrier-keen Kasparov will probably go on to win this world championship. But I know whom I would rather have on my side in a knife-fight.

The main function of the champion and the challenger conducting their private contest on the ballroom stage is to make the occasional move. This happens extremely infrequently, but when it does it triggers an amazing chain reaction. Instantaneously the move is relayed to everyone else in the game by thousands of television sets scattered around the hotel. In bars, conference rooms, press offices, lobbies, TV lounges, commentary positions, chess bookstalls, overspill seating areas, discussion chambers, chess lounges, and men's rooms, the other players immediately begin to work through the zillions of new options that have opened to them.

Down in the bowels of the hotel, in a room which appears to be continuously pumped full of fresh, stale cigarette smoke, a huddle of grand masters conducts the deepest analysis of the situation. This is usually done in a thick foreign accent. "Vot about developing ze bishop?"

"Developing ze bishop?" "Nooahh!" responds the pack of chess knights gathered around a round table. "It sez dangerous. Vot black is not looking for is a blocked pawn structure!"

The curious thing about grand masters — at least the Anglo-Saxon ones — is that they all look exactly the same. Whether their name is Jonathan Mestel or Jonathan Speelman or Ian Rogers, they all have shoulder length hair, beards and thick glasses. The boards are of stroking in contemplation and the glasses are extra-thick to see through the clouds of evil-smelling Turkish cigarette smoke generated by the foreign grand masters.

By Waldemar Januszczak

## Good time of year for a coup

IT MUST have occurred to other people also that August is the ideal month to mount a coup d'état. It is nearly 300 years since we had one, and even then it is uncertain that coup was the right description. Apart from the brief Cromwellian interlude, the practice of mounting coups has fallen into disuse since the Tudors left the scene. In their day attempted coups were almost a monthly occurrence.

A modern coup would not need to subvert, certainly not bring bodily harm to, the monarch. It would not hand over the throne to any of the regiment of Hanoverian, Spanish, or Scandinavian princelings who might lay claim to it from one or other side of the blanket. It does so happen that the Queen is at Balmoral and thus off-stage, but the tanks on the palace lawns would serve a purely symbolic purpose and would pose no threat to Her Majesty's wellbeing.

The coup would not even be directed against the Queen's ministers. I imagine it would be directed against the general state of affairs or against politics as such. It would do, presumably, what the Alliance parties say they want to do by slower means. It might fail, of course. Many attempted coups do, if you look around. But it would be an instructive occasion all the same and would serve as a dress rehearsal in case we ever really need one.

The subject is raised by the combination of a short debate in the Lords before they began their belated recess and the 285th renewal of the Northern Ireland marching stakes. The Lords were considering a proposal that in 1988 a parliamentary occasion should mark the 300th anniversary of the Glorious Revolution in which William of Orange supplanted James II. I am sure that many of us, if we had been around at the time, would have thrown in our lot with William against his "impudent, bigoted, vain and haughty" father-in-law (I quote the historian Maurice Ashley), though without realising that 300 years after the Orangetime of Ulster would still refuse to let the matter rest.

In the event, the Lords were not enthusiastic about celebrating King William III's accession. Lord Grimond said it was a coup d'état by treachery. Lord Glenamara called it "a pretty squalid affair". But then they would, wouldn't they? Their 17th-century predecessors, though acquiescent, were much less keen on the change of regime than the Commons because it established the right of the Commons to determine the succession.

With all respect to Lord Grimond, the insertion of King William into British history was too gradual a process to be called a coup. He and his wife Mary were around for months before it was decided to have them as monarchs. Indeed, from William's point of view the whole proceeding had as

made his position perfectly clear. More important are the political commentators, whose duty it is to arbitrate on such matters and tell the nation what to think. Most of them too are overseas. After the coup they would not be allowed back until they had signed an oath of allegiance. For the sake of continuity with 1689 it would be called the Revolution Act.

William's later excretion to Ireland was mainly for his French purposes, Britain still being something of a sideshow. When he and James finally came to blows at the Battle of the Boyne he was advised by his military commander, the Duke of Schomberg, to carry out a flank attack three miles upstream of where the opposing forces were mustered. William rejected this advice and forced the river where they were. The reason suggested for this more hazardous course is that the alternative would have severed the Jacobite retreat to Dublin and William would have had the embarrassment of capturing his father-in-law as a prisoner of war.

Any coup in which I might play a part would have to observe similar courtesies. There would be no place for any rough stuff. Indeed, this is perhaps the occasion to make one's intentions clear. One has no personal ambitions in this matter. One need not go so far as to say, in the classic American disavowal, that if nominated one will not stand and if elected one will not serve. If called upon one will, of course, do whatever the country requires. The new regime will, in effect, be a government of national renewal, like they have in Burkina Faso. Certain economic and social measures will be required and will be placed in the hands of colleagues, all of whom will assume the rank of brigadier.

After land reforms have been carried out, free elections will be held within five years. At least that is the present intention. One cannot, of course, be bound in advance to an inflexible programme when unforeseeable circumstances may arise. As I think William said to Mary in the Orangetime, we shall have to play it by ear.

For consider. The Prime Minister is normally (though not, perversely, this year) abroad in August. Lord Whitelaw is shooting grouse (though this year, perversely, there aren't any). He would, in any case, take a coup in his stride and would point out that nothing unprecedented had happened and that given goodwill on all sides the more unfortunate consequences could undoubtedly be mitigated.

The main people to fear would be the Opposition, who would wish to capitalise on so seminal a national occasion. But Mr. Kinnoch is in court. Mr. Hattersley, being everywhere, cannot be so to the unique, in-law (I quote the historian Maurice Ashley), though without realising that 300 years after the Orangetime of Ulster would still refuse to let the matter rest.

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## EEC aids war on locusts

By Alex Scott in Brussels

THE EEC is to finance a crash programme to fight the plague of locusts threatening crops in West Africa. Emergency aid worth £1.3 million is to be spent on pesticide to kill the locust eggs, as well as to help pay for airborne operations covering one million hectares of land in eight countries of the Sahel region.

These operations are to be carried out during the first two weeks of September, when the eggs are ready to hatch, and will involve 24 aircraft and helicopters already supplied or hired on the spot by EEC countries, together with the US, Canada, Norway, and other donor countries.

A top development official, Mr. Andre Auciart, said similar pesticide spraying was carried out in Sudan in June, and the situation in Ethiopia was not yet dangerous, although the Commission has ordered its delegate there to ensure that pesticides supplied earlier by the EEC should be made ready for use should the need arise. This would not be possible in southern Sudan, the official explained, because of the uncertainty regarding flights over rebel-controlled territory.

Running out in his slippers, PC Gordon Slade described how he was getting into bed at his home in Neville Park, Baltonborough, when the roar of small but powerful cylinders echoed round the cul-de-sac.

Or, as he put it: "My attention was drawn to the sound of an engine running outside my home. There was the sound of people laughing and in a merry mood."

## Is a motor mower a vehicle?

By Martin Walnwright

THE midnight antics of a drunken riding instructor mounted on a lawnmower may have brought chaos to a quiet Somerset village, but they cheered up a magistrates' court last week.

The usual litany of parking offences for the Glastonbury bench was interrupted by the dramatic charges against Mrs Lorna Dowson, aged 35, of Milcombe House, Alhampton; that she drove a motor vehicle, namely a lawnmower, with excess alcohol while disqualified and without insurance.

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bungalow opposite my house," said PC Slade. "Further investigations showed that two small fruit trees had been knocked over."

Mrs Dowson, who was unable to stop the four-wheeled mower and trailer as PC Slade ran alongside urging her to, told the court: "I should say we were all drunk."

Her brother-in-law, Mr. Richard Baker-Hyland, who was sitting on a straw bale in the trailer when PC Slade appeared, explained: "It seemed a fun thing to do at the time to go and see my colleague, Mr. Vic Arley."

The court's chairman, Mrs Betty Boyd, gave no opinion on this but agreed with Mrs Dowson's solicitor, Mr. Patrick Butler, when he asked: "The case hinges on whether or not a garden mower is a motor vehicle intended or adapted for use on the road. Its mere presence on the road does not make it a motor vehicle."

The bench, she said, was not satisfied beyond all reasonable doubt that the mower was a motor vehicle within the meaning of the Road Traffic Act. The case was therefore not proven. Mrs Dowson said afterwards: "I am delighted, but have no further comment to make."

## New Design Selected For Shuttle Boosters

NASA engineers have selected a new booster-rocket design that includes a third O-ring seal, increased insulation, heaters and other features intended to prevent recurrence of the Challenger disaster.

"We are well on our way to accomplishing a good, safe redesign," said John Thomas, manager of the redesign team at Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville, Ala. "We've taken every step to understand what happened on Challenger and to preclude that from happening again."

The new design, one of several on the NASA drawing board before the Challenger tragedy Jan. 28, still must survive a gauntlet of tests and analyses, and the composition of the O-ring seals and insulation has not been decided, he said.

If the design proves effective, shuttle flights could resume by the National Aeronautics and Space

Administration's target of the first quarter of 1989. Engineers are "carrying several contingency designs along in parallel" in case the primary design fails, Thomas noted.

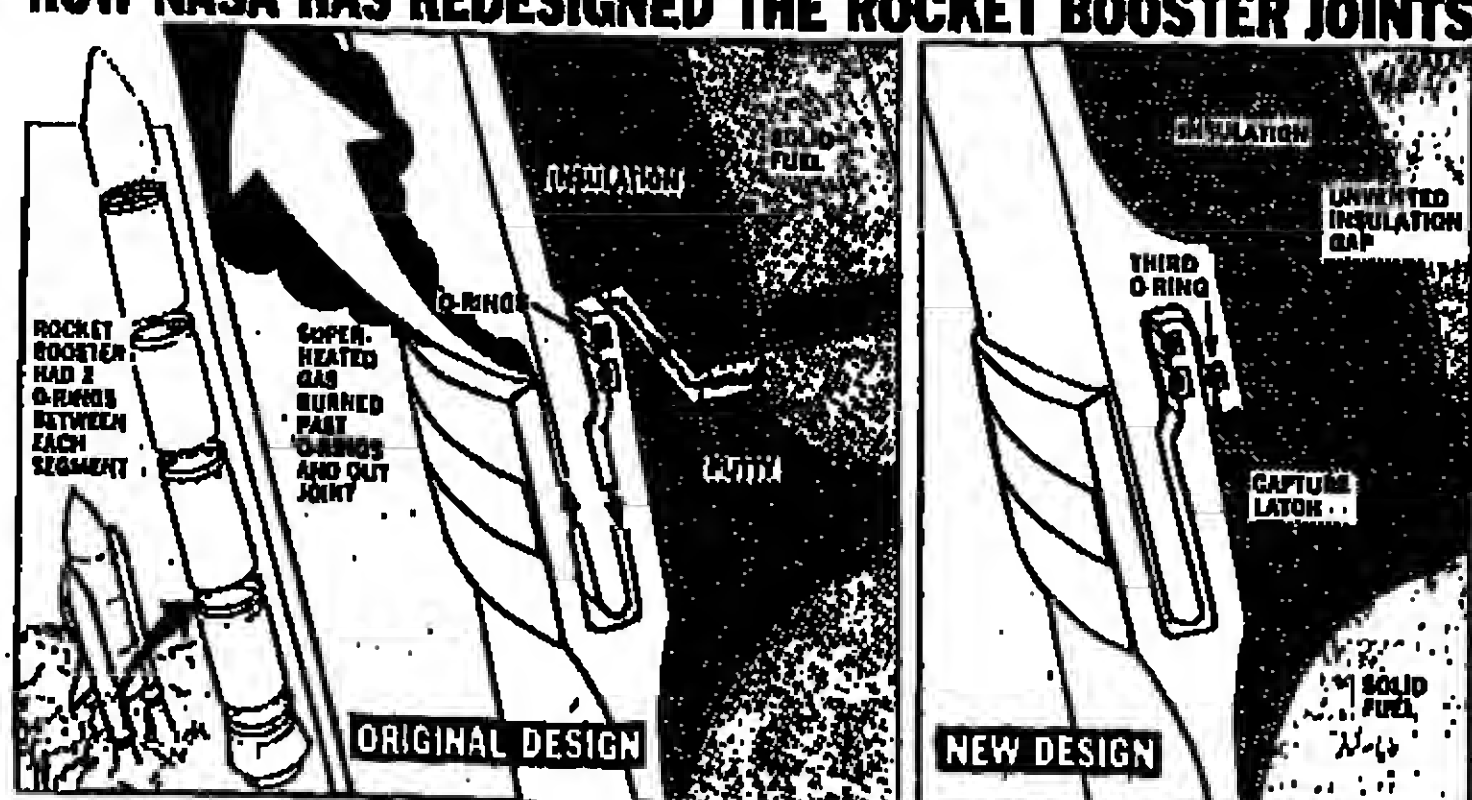
If no problems develop, engineers will begin conducting this fall hundreds of tests on scale-model components and several hot-fire tests using full-size rocket segments incorporating the new design.

Late next year, the entire motor design would be tested under full-load conditions for final qualification. The tests are scheduled at Marshall and also at contractor Morton Thiokol's plant in Brigham City, Utah.

Several key questions about the nature of the planned tests are unresolved, Thomas said. If past test procedures are generally adopted, the redesign cost is estimated at about \$300 million.

The design changes permit

### HOW NASA HAS REDESIGNED THE ROCKET BOOSTER JOINTS



Drawing by Johnstone Quinn

NASA to use existing solid-rocket motor segments and would add only about 1,200 pounds to a shuttle's weight, he said.

A presidential commission concluded that the booster joints were poorly designed and that an O-ring

seal in one was stiffened by unusually cold weather and failed, allowing a plume of white-hot flame to escape.

That ignited a fireball that led to Challenger's destruction and resulted in the deaths of seven crew

By Kathy Sawyer

members.

In the original design, two heavy O-rings were to seal each tongue-and-groove-like joint of the segmented rocket. The new design, besides adding a third O-ring and more elaborate insulating putty, includes a "capture feature," a clamp, designed to lock the metal joint members together and stabilize the O-ring gap under "worst-case" conditions, Thomas said.

New materials would be used in the O-rings to make them more resilient and less susceptible to temperature variations, he said, and small heaters and weather seals are to be mounted on each booster joint.

The new booster would perform in temperatures as low as 31 degrees Fahrenheit. When Challenger lifted off, the temperature at the Cape Canaveral launch site was 86 degrees, 15 degrees colder than any previous shuttle launch.



AFTER writing about Silbury Hill a few weeks ago I found myself trying to imagine what life was like for those distant ancestors of ours, five thousand years ago. Can we enter into the thoughts of people so remote from us in time and culture?

It is harvest. At Lammae-tide the tribe has witnessed the annual miracle of the hill which is the Great Earth Goddess giving birth to the full moon. At the critical moment a priest with a sharp, thin-bladed sword cuts the first stalks of grain growing in the sacred plot on the crown of the hill. Now is the time to gather the harvest before autumn storms take their toll.

In 1986 the combine harvesters are trundling across the extensive arable fields of the Wiltshire countryside around Silbury. The weather is, to use a descriptive Wessex word, "cuddling" . . . too many showers to allow the grain to dry properly. That does not worry the modern farmer. When it rains the combine ceases work, but as soon as the sun shines again it resumes. If the grain is damp, no matter. Back at base is a grain-drier which will quickly reduce the moisture content to an acceptable 16 per cent. The combine-harvester and the tractors and trailers which serve them, collecting loads of grain and carting them back to the barns, are the only evidence of activity in these spacious harvest fields.

It would have been far different five thousand years ago. Then the fields would have been filled with people. The entire tribe would have been there, from small children gleefully chasing strays or chasing off rooks and pigeons to old men who could still turn and spread a shawl to catch the sunbeams. What they knew beyond question was that this, for them, was the climax of the year and upon winning a successful harvest depended whether they would eat well or go hungry during the coming winter.

What other differences would

Ralph Whitlock

## Timeless harvest

the combine-harvester driver notice if he could observe the local people harvesting those same fields five thousand years ago? They would, of course, be using sickles with blades of sharp-edged flint, but the technique of tying sheaves with straw bonds was doubtless known as far back as that. He would have been surprised at the comparative youthfulness of the company. Archaeologists have worked out that when Stonehenge and Avebury were built 60 per cent of the people were aged less than twenty years, 48 per cent less than forty years, and only two per cent more than forty!

One thing which would not have been immediately obvious to him but which would have gradually emerged if he were able to converse with them, was that they were entirely illiterate. The first form of picture-writing is thought to have originated in ancient Sumeria about the time that Silbury was being built, but certainly it did not find its way to Britain until several thousand years later. Some authorities think the Silbury people may have been illiterate, too, though they may well have carved notches in a tree branch to record phases of the moon.

But as I thought about those distant people, babbling away in a strange tongue and discussing the progress of the harvest, I realised that the gap between them and myself was not as great as between me and the driver of the combine harvester.

The harvests of the 1920s are still clear in my memory. In the weeks before we started cutting the grain the local farmers toured the village, enlisting the aid of

every able-bodied male and the occasional female. The schoolmaster, the postman, the butcher, the vicar, the local artist — everybody was roped in. After all, it needed a team of seven, as well as a boy to lead the horses, for carting the sheaves and rick-building, and usually another team was at work cutting the grain and stacking the sheaves in stacks. Mothers with small children pushed push-chairs, which the children shared with cans of hot tea and sandwiches, to the harvest fields. Although by that date the entire dependence of the community on the harvest had been mitigated, for there were now shops where provisions could be purchased, the old traditions still prevailed.

From Lammae-tide onwards for about six weeks the calendar was forgotten. As secretary of our village cricket club I knew it was futile to arrange any fixtures after the end of July. August was virtually a non-existent month. And we might just as well have been as illiterate as the peasants of Silbury. Even if daily papers had been obtainable we would have had no time to read them and no interest in them. Farmers ceased to go to market. We had, of course, no telephone and no wireless. It wasn't that we were cut off from the outside world, it was simply that the outside world had ceased to matter to us.

I remember harvests in the 1920s and 1930s and the 1940s, too, though by the 1940s the world was beginning to impinge on our

way of life. But I cannot give a date to any harvest. Harvest was an experience to be engaged in and savoured.

I remember cutting barley fields from which blue butterflies, many of them now rare, emerged in clouds. I remember hordes of rabbits escaping from the same fields. I remember stooking a field of sheaves, then after rain throwing them out again to dry, then, after yet more rain, cutting the bonds

## Spoilt for choice

Jill Tweedie

WHEN I first went to Canada, someone told me of a recent immigrant from Hungary who knew the English words for only one meal. Every day for three weeks he went into the local diner and gave his order: "Spaghett, apple pie." Then, up to here with spaghetti, apple pie, a friend taught him another combination. Next day he gave his new order: "Toasted cheese, waffle."

"Canadian, English, Scotch, Irish?" the waitress asked. "White, rye, pumpernickel, granary, wholewheat? Pickle, gherkin, mayonnaise, mustard, lettuce, tomato, bacon? Ice-cream, honey, syrup, molasses? Huh? Huh?"

"The poor guy shrugged, defeated. "Spaghett, apple pie," he said. I felt a deep compassion for that man. Still do. Choice is the silver lining of the consumer society but for certain afflicted persons such as myself, it is the cloud. In theory, I expect choice, am glad of it. In practice it lays me low, like some mysterious Victorian wasting sickness. Five minutes of exposure to choice in any shop is all I can take.

After that, my eyes begin to water, my head pounds, the palms of my hands grow damp, phantom fingers tighten around my throat and, gibbering, I gallop out, my basket shamefully unfilled. Sometimes, worse things happen. Sometimes I fall under a terrible spell that holds me immobile in front of the shelves, able only to stare at the hundreds of tins or sheets or skirts while time ticks away and the grave looms. Or I drift about like a sleepwalker, jaw slack, arms hanging, picking up things and putting them down, my mind a vast blank, my shopping list unticked, while all around me other more talented shoppers are choosing, deciding, paying and going.

How do they do it? What weights do they put on what scales to tip them into purchase? Why the blue and not the black, the flowers and not the stripes, the pineapple chunks and not the slices, this department and not that, this shop and not the next?

Last year, after a particularly unseemly episode in New York which involved setting out one morning to spend ten minutes buying a pair of black shoes, seeing one thousand pairs of black shoes (leather, kid, patent, brocade, embroidered, stitched, quilted, square-toed, winkle-toed, open-toed, high-backed, sling-backed, no-backed, flat, stacked, stilettoed) and returning at twilight shoeless, very nearly footless and completely crazed, I tried to come to terms with my handicap. I stopped shopping in cities, where the strain of choice is unremitting, and only allowed myself into the stores of the more compact towns I happened to be passing, like Canterbury, Stamford, Durham, York,

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and carting the grain and straw loose. I remember building big wheat ricks and enjoying picnic meals with our backs against their walls. But I couldn't put a date to any one of those experiences. They are just details in one eternal, timeless harvest.

The more I think about it, the more I realise that we came near to bridging the gap between us and the illiterate cultures of primitive Britain. Those young people harvesting their crops around the hill had no records to feed their memory. Some of them might recall some dramatic event during last harvest, or was it the harvest before?

Whenever it was, the memory would soon fade. But harvest was timeless. It was a natural phenomenon that always came round at the appointed time. It was hardly a feature of either Past or Future: it was the eternal Present.

## Salzburg is bewitched

FEW new operas pack such a powerful and immediate punch as the latest from Krzysztof Penderecki, *The Black Mask*, commissioned for this year's Salzburg Festival and given to its world premiere at the Kleines Festspielhaus.

Over the years no composer with avant-garde pretensions has been so shrewd as Penderecki at suturing his music to his audience. Advancing within fine limits you keep the results entertaining to a wide audience. Remembering his successes in Salzburg in the past, he has produced — in close collaboration with the stage producer Harry Kupfer — what the programme note describes as a psycho-thriller, a single 100-minute act that batters the listener into submission with no let-up.

Rarely since the days of Puccini's *Tosca* or Strauss's *Elektra* and Salome have shock tactics been so shamelessly used, even if the idiom is unlikely to upset anyone who has progressed as far as Shostakovich. The piece is painfully thematic, with a main theme like the opening of *Tosca* militarised, frequently harking back to the big dramatic gestures of such early Penderecki works as the *St Luke Passion*.

Commissioned by the Festival four years ago, the composer toyed with such opera subjects as Strindberg's *Miss Julie* and even what a thought for Mozart's birthplace — Peter Shaffer's *Amadeus*. It is a wonder no one suggested an operatic version of that other Salzburg special, *The Sound of Music*.

In the end Penderecki chose the little-known play by the German dramatist Gerhart Hauptmann, and together with Kupfer simply snipped it discreetly to make a libretto, removing the heavy historical and philosophical discus-



Performance of a lifetime: Josephine Barstow as Designa

wandering Jew, is superbly sung by Gunter Reich. But it's Bonima, around whom the action revolves, who is given an even more demanding part both musically and dramatically. Josephine Barstow, building on her experience singing the comparably neurotic role of Strauss's *Salome*, gives the performance of a lifetime. The voice is rarely beautiful but she rises to the challenge of the central climactic scene superbly, when for over 15 minutes she has a long solo narration, telling her life story to Perl, ending in a burst of hysteria.

It is a virtuoso performance and it is hardly her fault that the role fails to develop. Much of the rest consists of complex and busy ensembles, vividly sung and superbly controlled by the conductor Waldemar Nelson, chosen because Kupfer had already worked with him on the highly original Bayreuth production of *The Flying Dutchman*. Nelson also does wonders in persuading the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra to play with total commitment and power in an idiom far removed from its usual repertory.

### OPERA: Edward Greenfield on a triumphant new production

sions and building up the role of the one survivor of the seedy pack of 13 characters, Lovel Perl, an Amsterdam merchant and in effect the wandering Jew.

The neatness of Hauptmann's original scheme lies in the way he has plausibly created a gallery of sharply contrasted characters, each representing one of the religious viewpoints of the mid-seventeenth century. The scene is Silesia, run down and afflicted by plague after the Thirty Years War. The opera is for a frantic timpani and bagpipes and bogy music at the very start. The local mayor, Schuller, together in his house at carnival time a broad range of visitors, Catholic, Protestant, Huguenot, Jesuits and Jew.

Hauptmann's didactic purpose behind that scheme is watered down in the opera in favour of concentrating on the big melodramatic nub of the story, when the mayor's wife, the beautiful Benigna, is confronted by a voodoo figure. *The Black Mask*. It is her past come to haunt her, for years earlier she was party to the murder of her first husband. The *Black Mask* is first revealed in a brief violent appearance as her former Negro lover, the murderer. He is in Kupfer's production who in a final vision of destruction beyond the grave dances in voodoo triumph, while Perl sadly looks on. The one earthly survivor from the plague.

What the composer and producer have done is to present explicitly the violence merely implied in the original play, heightening and intensifying but prudifying too. The bedrock character Perl, the

Kupfer's spectacular production plays a key part in the opera's success with grandly mouldering costumes by Reinhard Heinrich and eerie, surreal sets by Hans Schavernoch. The whole oblong of the stage picture within the problem is canted 10 degrees or so over to the left, a twisted vision of the great wall of mirrors which reflects us, the audience, with a twisted world. At the very start the great wall of mirrors which reflects us, the audience, with a twisted world. At the very start the great wall of mirrors which reflects us, the audience, with a twisted world. At the very start the great wall of mirrors which reflects us, the audience, with a twisted world.

Otherwise the small Festival Theatre has seen the revival of an even longer and even more masterly one-actor, Strauss's *Capriccio* in Johannes Schaeff's equivocal production, dodging back and forth between the 18th and 20th centuries. Horst Stein as conductor draws even louder playing from the Vienna Philharmonic than last year, undermining the sweetness of Anna Tomowa-Sintov's voice as the Countess, when too often she is forced to strain, even in the lovely closing scene.

Herbert Von Karajan in the big theatre next door has revived his own production of Bizet's *Carmen*, another of last year's novelties. You might call it the *Cinéma Carmen* with its sets by Gunther Schneider-Siemssen stretching luxuriously in full realistic detail from side to side of the enormous stage.

## Bergman finds fire at the heart of Ibsen

INGMAR BERGMAN's revelatory production of John Gabriel Borkman for the Bavarian State Theatre of Munich rescues this play of revenants and recriminations from the pitfalls of melodrama. He dissipates its airs of self-indulgent gloominess and strips away the marks of naive symbolism.

It emerges faithful to late Ibsen but also a thoroughly Bergmanesque settling of family debts and ancient hatreds, ablaze with the passions of old people raking the embers of their lost love. Never before have I been so riveted or moved by Ibsen: the production is both a blow to the jingoistic belief in the supremacy of our directors and actors, and a further vindication of Frank Dunlop's international theatre season.

Bergman has done away with Ibsen's cluttered lavender drawing room and all the distracting paraphernalia, imposing sparse, clear outlines and a design which suitably wavers between the realistic and the expressionistic. The designer Gunilla Palmstierna-Weiss, has reduced Mrs Borkman's receiving room to a slightly raised platform equipped with a sofa against a dark backdrop and set in the white surrounds which will become the snowy landscape of the last act.

The room in which her husband John Gabriel, the Messianic financier, has confined himself for years after release from prison for embezzlement is conceived on a larger scale but maintains the same atmosphere of cold bleakness: a sharply tilted floor on which footsteps reverberate eerily, empty of furniture except for a wall-to-floor

canvas and a row of upright accusatory chairs and a piano.

The sense of emptiness engendered by this undomesticated dislocated room is powerful and disturbing. But it enables Bergman to focus with almost film-like clarity upon his isolated character. He diagnoses Borkman, Gunhild, the wife who hates him and her dying sister Ella, who was once the financier's real love, as absolute fantasists. It is this quality which makes them as fiercely emotional and distraught as young things.

From the first moment when the reunited sisters meet and face each other in a long silence you'll recognise their fierce and old

THEATRE: Nicholas de Jongh reports from the King's, Edinburgh

hatreds. Christine Buchegger as the envenomed Gunhild balances this emotion with her pathetic and despairing love for a son already remote from her. And Christa Berndl as her placatory, pallid sister still incites herself to shake with emotion. The acting of both these women is so power-packed that you see them altered by fury.

Bergman may have exiled melodrama but he has replaced it with the antagonisms of the modern family at civil war.

John Gabriel, Ibsen's alter ego, the unbalanced dreamer who not quite convincingly sacrifices sexual love for an almost Hitlerian dream of power and a capitalist kingdom of benign creation, is played by Hans Michael Rehberg in a performance which utterly surpasses those of Wolfelt or Rich-

ardson. He has all the pathos of Bergman's lost grandeur but makes him also a man besieged by regrets and losing hold of reality.

The dissociation between his still, frock coated straight-backed decorum and his sudden flurries of wildness is complete. It's a performance of startling physical dynamism: the trembling hand raised aloft before collapse; the pacing of his room in a crazed, loping, compulsive stride; and, behind his back, fingers fluttering in uncontrollable spasms of energy. In the first thrilling encounter with his estranged wife they sit opposite each other, almost crouching, bodies bent right forward spitting their litany of abuse — like wild animals whose malice will encourage them to fall upon each other at any moment.

When Erhart Borkman, the weak son in whom all three repose their hopeless hopes, returns with his older femme fatale (Rita Russek in plaited hair and peachy silk, looking too much the *fin de siècle* courtesan), they behave like outraged children.

Only in the difficult final act, after the façade of the house has disappeared, behind black drapes and the stage is all snowy landscape does Bergman falter. Rehberg gradually discarding his outdoor clothes does not reach the hallucinated climax that Ibsen asks for.

Bergman has excised the final ironic reconciliation between the two sisters after Borkman's muted death. As a result the play does not reach its proper consummation. But these details do not detract from the accumulated impact of the production.

## A former master rediscovered

FILMS: Derek Malcolm at the Edinburgh Film Festival

EDINBURGH'S 40th Film Festival, which can generally be relied upon to produce something out of the hat that can't be termed conventional British Cinema, has given us all a lesson this year about what conventional really means by putting on a retrospective of the work of Bernard Vorhaus, a hitherto totally unremembered and uncensored film-maker who worked in Britain in the thirties before moving to Hollywood.

The point is that this American-born and now naturalised Briton never made anything like an art movie in his entire career, cut short by the political witch-hunts of the McCarthy era. But what this valuable retrospective shows is that you can, through sheer wit and professionalism, make the ordinary look extraordinary and the conventional into something sharp, spiky and relevant.

On the surface, his British films, often made in a hurry and on low budgets, look much the same as any of those television oddies that programme in the afternoon for nostalgic housewives. But, judging by those I saw, they almost always go beyond their strict confines somewhere or other. And besides that, they are usually great fun.

There are two lessons to be learnt watching movies like *The Last Journey* from 1935 and *Dusty Ermine* from 1938 — let alone projects such as *The Spiritualist* from his later American period. The first is that there is absolutely no substitution for proper storytelling, on whatever humble level. The second is that film-makers don't operate at their best in isolation. They are products of their time, and conflict with it and

other practitioners at every point. To discover Vorhaus is not to unearth a lost genius, but to find a sharply defined talent beavering away at compromise and limitations until he makes something of them. You suddenly realise that Hitchcock and Lean did not spring up out of nowhere but from a story-telling tradition that others, like Vorhaus, had fostered alongside and before them.

Vorhaus himself, now in his eighties but looking hardly much over 70, was a modest and charming guest at the Festival, frequently protesting that he might have produced better films with a little more time and money. To which the only reply must be that he did them bloody well under the circumstances, quota quickies or not.

It is not very wise, nor even fair to contrast this sort of work with Cinema Action's most ambitious film project yet — *Rocinante*, with John Hurt, Maureen Douglass, and Ian Hurt. Even so, there is some point in doing so, since what this beautiful, so melancholy British road movie lacks is exactly what made Vorhaus into a formidable film-maker.

Cinema Action is a collective that has moved from making overt political films into an area that is intended to be more gentle, and hopefully more widely, persuasive. But it still hasn't cracked the exigencies of the narrative process. It keeps getting side-tracked in *Rocinante* from telling a proper story.

The film takes its two leading characters across Dartmoor, accompanied by Ian Dury's gravel-voiced jester. The man (John Hurt) has been forced out of the road, having been turfed out of a derelict cinema, where perhaps some of

Vorhaus's images of England have been screened. The reality is somewhat different — a land of myths and history and traditions, reduced by an upsurge of repression into something less than it should be. The woman (Maureen Douglass) is fighting against this dying of the light as much as the man has opted out. The jester observes and comments upon their predicament.

Elsewhere, the Festival has provided joys and disappointments in almost equal proportion, much like any other. But Edinburgh is different in that it tries harder than most such events to illuminate the byways of cinema as well as to advertise the main roads. You never know what you are going to find next.

A film from Mali, brought along by a participant in the Third Cinema Conference, was shown as an extra and made its mark totally unexpectedly. This was Cheick Oumar Sissoko's *Lessons From The Garage*, a simple story of a poor family, illustrating injustice with humour, sympathy, and a directness of approach that is emphasised by some stunning music and natural performances.

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## BOOKS

'So weary, deadly weary of writing': Ronald Blythe reviews the letters of a Polish gentleman and incipient genius

## From the heart of Conrad's loneliness

THE COLLECTED LETTERS OF JOSEPH CONRAD, VOLUME 2 1898-1902, edited by Frederick R. Karl and Laurence Davies (Cambridge, £27.50).

THERE is an acute species of melancholy attached to the early days of authorship which is often all too lightly dismissed as teething pains by biographers. The worried Conrad of Youth, Heart of Darkness, Lord Jim, etc., could not have imagined the Conrad of Chance and its revered and lucrative successors.

The period covered by these letters is that of risk and loss, those familiar concomitants of the first freelance years. His very blessings, a wife who could type as well as create the high standard of domestic order he needed, their first son and, from the very beginning, the inestimable friendship of Edward Garnett, prince of publishers' advisers, were themselves a reproach for they had to be justified.

Worst of all there was the new and still strange vacuum of the study which he had to enter each morning — or each midnight often enough in his case. This and the incredible absence of the sea. Instead there were the horrible Essex marshes, dank and crime-ridden.

Eight months into the letters Ford Madox Hueffer was to rescue him from the latter by installing him at Pent Farm near Sandgate, and within a stone's throw, comparatively speaking, of the current Olympians, including Henry James, Galsworthy and H. G. Wells. Such proximity was apt to be more crushing than anything else. There was too Conrad's natural grandeur as a Polish gentle-

man and incipient genius, the effect of which on others often disconcerted him.

From the first he knew he was isolated and that every now and then he would need to make simple and direct statements about himself — "I have never fostered any illusions as to my value. You may believe me implicitly when I say that I never work in a self-satisfied elation..." He is remonstrating to Blackwood the publisher who, like his agent Pinker, goes a bit too far with his advice. At this moment both these men are helpfully thinking of Conrad as a superior yarn-spinner for boys.

He had joined the French merchant navy at 16, wild about the sea — some said because of reading Victor Hugo's *Toliers of the Sea* in his father's translation.



Conrad c1900 taken by Wills.

but it wasn't until he was in his early thirties that he began to write what would become after some years and much shaping (and getting lost on voyages) *Almayer's Folly*, having taught himself English by reading east coast newspapers and talking to his East Anglian shipmates "each built as though to last for ever, and coloured like a Christmas card".

He was 37 when he gave up the sea as a career and retained it as a force for an entirely new kind of "action" fiction, psychologically profound and stylistically sumptuous. It was hard to write and hardest of all at the time these letters were sent.

## Alfonso to Zerlina

WHO'S WHO IN MOZART'S OPERAS, by Joachim Kaiser (Weidenfeld, £12.95).

FROM Alfonso to Zerlina, as the subtitle runs, this guide bears witness to the drawing power of Mozart's operas by giving us a few pages on each character in the seven mature masterpieces.

This may sound a notably old-fashioned enterprise, redolent of late Victorian works such as *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines*. The author, however, is a musicologist and a man of sense: if this kind of thing is to be done at all he is the person to bring it off.

He is aware that Mozart's extraordinary ability to bring characters to individual life works through the music: an elementary point, yet often ignored.

His remarks, pawky and a trifle long-winded in a German tradition (one can imagine him as a benevolent uncle in a *Singspiel* Mozart didn't get round to writing), should be of help to singers and producers at least. The guidance afforded them is much more down-to-earth than the dedication of Jean-Pierre Fonnele might suggest. The translation by Charles Kessler reads well.

## DEVIZES BOOKS

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## Travel in mind

By Edward Blishen

UNFINISHED JOURNEY, by Shiva Naipaul (Hamish Hamilton, £9.95).

"IN THE end, it is the work that matters, not the relationship." It is Shiva Naipaul, discussing the difficulty of being a remarkable writer whose brother is a remarkable writer.

At worst, there were those who held that books published as the work of S. were written by V. S. My Brother and I, one of the reprinted pieces of journalism here, is perfectly typical, in fact, of S. It is written with the sinewy grace the brothers shared, but it has the special movement of Shiva's mind, always so pleasant to follow. There is an air of fastidious dismay, sometimes difficult to distinguish from an air of comedy.

Their readers had hoped, in this matter of sorting out one brother from the other where there is such dissimilarity in their very resemblances, to have years ahead of them: Shiva, having merely, though richly, begun. Then, a year ago, he died, aged 40. And alas, this little book of scraps is the last of him.

They are chiefly to his first literary friends R. B. Cunningham Graham, the socialist grandee who was thought by some to be the rightful King of Scotland, the wise Edward Garnett, H. G. Wells (the friendship did not last), the much-tried literary agent J. B. Pinker (Conrad's blast to him on the ubiquitous business of not delivering on time deserves a place alongside Dr Johnson's thunderclap against patron), William Blackwood, Ford, and Stephen Crane.

There are also many letters to the generous Galsworthy, a rich and practical friend, and an exchange of mutual appreciation with Arnold Bennett. All these writers in particular are clearly aware that a novelist who is quite unlike any other novelist is emerging, and, in their different ways, are giving support to the tortured tenant of Pent Farm.

Conrad's responses are open and passionate. His loneliness shows. There is dawning respect and success, says Laurence Davies, yet "the letters abound in unhappiness". But it is not the life-lasting gloom of some writers but the sadness of a stage of development which writers, and artists of all sorts, will recognise, which is why this particular volume of the eight which will contain all Conrad's correspondence is so compelling.

Family life itself is still odd to him. He has known nothing since he was a boy except ship's crews and their mixture of reticence and emotion, but on vast voyages he has witnessed everything, most particularly imperialism in motion. His is not an innocent's eye. In the farmhouse there is neither closeness nor space. Jessie Conrad is accorded dutiful courtesies, though once she is described as "my wife, a person of simple feelings guided by the intelligence of the heart". She was a bookkeeper's daughter, a large, capable woman on whom he depended for his pick and span home, secretarial requirements and punctual routine.

During these crucial four years, Conrad did all he could to understand his place in the scheme of things, says Davies, facing "the

problem in terms of family, profession, the sense of his own being, national and historical identity, and the physical universe itself". Most of all, he "sought to locate himself as a writer".

The hugeness of what he had seen, and maybe of what he had done, in comparison with his novelist contemporaries, plus the amazing use of a foreign language, made such a placing high impossible. Where was he? Who and what was he? The big first batch of letters do not wholly answer these questions but they are satisfyingly informative all the same.

We do come much nearer to Conrad because of them. He made little use of Cunningham Graham, writing to Edward Garnett about *The Heart of Darkness*, said that it was written "in the fervent contemplation of his tracks," and this masterpiece and all the rest of the work relied upon old sea-lanes travelled old companions rejoined. But this kind of passage, often by pencil, was harder to find and he was constantly "so weary, deadly weary of writing".

There was never a moment's let-up. Fresh tales pushed their way forward before he could find structures for them. "My head is full of a story. I have not been able to write a single word — except the title which shall be I think NOSTROMO; the story belonging to the 'Karain' class of tales ('K' class for short — as you classify the cruisers.)"

Like many stylists, he was sometimes unmoved by the possibility of losing "myself in a wilderness of endeavour" and of "verbiage", and to this day we read him and are forced by his artistry and his daring. He is lastingly mysterious. Seeing so many words, we think he has told all, but he never does. Explaining the deliberately bald ending of *Lord Jim* to Blackwood, he says: "The reader ought to know enough at that time."

Will he know enough from the 1898-1902 Letters to know how the patrician merchant seaman from Poland stepped straight to the centre of English literature? No — but they help.

The editing is impeccable — and the binding a treat.

some aspects of the cult of the Australian aborigine. This is another valuable astringent example of a cant-exposing specialist at work and in places it is very funny, but still it leaves things out.

It is not in the end fair to discuss the question as if all the aborigine had to do was to elect to become a fully paid-up modern Australian, and all his white sympathisers had to do was to stop being thoughtlessly sentimental.

Writing about India ("How did it happen that the Gandhi-Nehru legacy decayed into the shabbiest idolatry of family?"), or about the very nature of the concept of the Third World, Naipaul must make a disturber of elegant ideas. When fastidiousness becomes a major instrument by which human affairs are judged, problems arise: but heaven knows we have a deep need of that note of haughty disgust, especially when allied to Shiva Naipaul's comic gift, and to a curious quality, not absolutely unlike tenderness, that is coiled up inside his hauteur.

He says, ruefully, that people would stop him in the street because they liked his face. Well, it was a good face; and its disappearance is a great tragedy.

## Dilemmas of the Resistance

By Stuart Hood

LA DOULEUR, by Marguerite Duras (Collins, £8.95.)

A GESTAPO agent in Paris courts a young woman, a member of the Resistance, whose husband he has sent to a concentration camp. She strings him along so that the Resistance can mark him down and kill him. The Liberation intervenes. He is arrested and executed. His ambition has been to have a fine art bookshop.

The same young woman is drawn through Paris after the Liberation with a young Fascist militiaman who is possibly about to be executed. She understands how the lure of fast cars had made the by a collaborator. She feels sexually drawn to him.

After the Liberation she conducts the interrogation of an elderly informer who is mercilessly beaten to extract a confession. His torturers had learned their technique from beatings at the hands of the secret police.

Along with crowds of other women she goes daily to see whether her husband's name is on the lists of survivors of the concentration camps. He is brought home in the last stages of debilitation. She nurses him to recovery then tells him she is leaving him for another man, a comrade from the Resistance.

The young woman is Marguerite Duras herself, who years later found the record of these incidents in a couple of exercise books. *La Douleur*, she says is one of the most important things in her life yet she has no recollection of having written it.

It is an undisturbed amnesia, for this is an account of the moral dilemmas of the Resistance, of the terrible methods such a movement is forced to adopt, of the brutalisation of those who fight for the good cause against a merciless enemy, of sudden plunges of pity for that enemy — she obsessively remembers a sixteen year old German boy dying in the street — mixed with hatred for what the enemy represents, the appalling truth of the concentration camps.

Her fear was that in recording all this — which she does with honesty, lack of self-pity, humanity and precision — she might be guilty of producing "literature" in the sense of *belles lettres*. *La Douleur* is the work of a courageous witness and splendid writer. To read this account of the "tremendous chaos of thought and feeling" Marguerite Duras experienced in those twilight days between the end of the Resistance and the return of something of a normal life is a disturbing experience. It not only recalls nightmares of the past but forces one to think of the resistance movements of today, of their courage, of their brutality, of the traumas which human beings inflict on each other in the pursuit of freedom or of millenary dreams or, on the other side of the barricades, in the defence of tyranny.

Marguerite Duras was even in those difficult times in 1945, quite clear about the nature of the problem of evil in our times and how we must look at it: "If you give a German, and not a colonial, interpretation to the Nazi horror, you reduce the man to Belsen to regional dimensions. The only possible answer to this crime is to turn it into a crime committed by everyone" and to share it, just like the ideals of equality, and fraternity.

## Bridge

By Rixi Markus\*

THE results of this year's final of the Sullivan Powell Challenge Competition for non-expert teams of four were: 1. Andover 149 v.p.; 2. Kirkcubright 107 v.p.; 3. Newcastle-under-Lyme 107 v.p.; 4. Marconi 106 v.p. Here is a hand which helped Andover to their convincing victory. Game all; dealer North.

NORTH		EAST	
♠ 10 8 5 3		♠ K 7 4	
♥ A 9 8 2		♥ Q 7 3	
♦ A Q J 3		♦ 8	
♣ —		♣ 10 9 7 5 3	

WEST		SOUTH	
♠ Q 2		♠ A J 8	
♥ K J 5		♥ 6 4	
♦ K 7 6 4		♦ 10 5 2	
♣ Q 4 2		♣ A K J 8 6	

NORTH	EAST	SOUTH	WEST
1H	NB	2C	NB
2D	NB	3NT	NB
NB			

West led the six of diamonds, taken by South's ten. A diamond to dummy's jack held the second trick. East discarded a spade. Assessing correctly that East's spade discard marked him with length in the suit, declarer eased his communication problems by playing a small spade to the eight and queen.

West switched to a heart to the ten and queen, and East now switched to the ten of clubs. As the cards actually lay, many lines of play would succeed at this point. However, South found a continuation which catered for any distribution: he went up with the ace of clubs and continued with the jack of spades. This developed the second spade trick which declarer needed to make certain of his contract, while at the same time preserving the ace of spades as an entry to the closed hand with which to cash the king of clubs and repeat the marked diamond finesse. This line of play guaranteed nine tricks in the form of two spades, one heart, four diamonds and two clubs, and it was typical of the accurate dummy play which the Andover team displayed.

This second hand comes from the final of the Portland Challenge Cup, the inter-university teams of four championship. The winners were Manchester University, with Oxford second, and Southampton third. Dealer, South at game all.

Michael Adams's IM norm at age 14 ranks in the top five all-time performances for a player so young. This is the approximate order of merit: 1. Bobby Fischer, age 14.9, US championship 1967-8, 1st with 10½/13, unbeaten, performance rating about 2650.

2. Henrique Mecking, age 14.3, South American world title zonal 1968, 1st-4th with 12½/17, performance rating about 2550.

3. Adams, age 14.9, performance rating about 2530.

4. Nigel Short, age 14.7, Hastings 1979-80, score 8/15, performance rating 2505.

5. Short, age 14.2, British Championship 1979, 1st-3rd with 8/11, game all.

NORTH		EAST	
♠ 8		♠ A 10 7	
♥ J 6 5 3		♥ A 10 7	
♦ 9 6 3 2		♦ A 10 8 4	
♣ K 9 7 5		♣ 10 8 4 3 2	

WEST		SOUTH	
♠ J 9 7 6 5 4 2		♠ A K Q	
♥ 9		♥ K Q 8 4 2	
♦ J 5		♦ K Q 7	
♣ A Q		♣ J 8	

SOUTH	WEST	NORTH	EAST
1H	4S	NB	NB
Dble(1)	NB	5H(2)	Dble
NB		NB	

(1) I always tell new partners who do not know my style that, unless the opponents are obviously sacrificing, I never double high-level contracts if I do not hold a useful hand including at least one trump trick. In my experience, doubling without trump tricks is a common source of disaster.

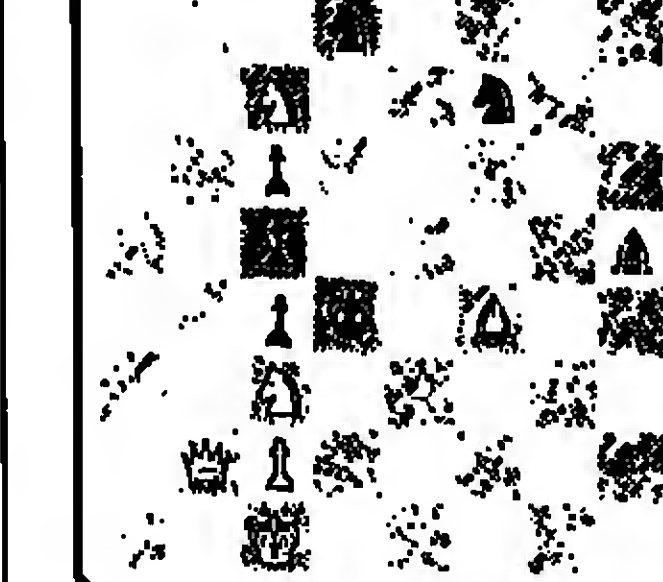
(2) Any player who passes 4S and then removes his partner's double to 5H shows a lack of discipline. 5H is certain to cost points and, even if 4S doubled might make from time to time, it must be best to accept South's decision to defend.

5H doubled went four down: +1,100 to East-West when they were doomed to lose — 500 in 4S doubled.

## Chess

By Leonard Barden

No. 1821



White mates in three moves at latest, against any defence (by A. Martinek). The black king, stranded in mid-board, has no legal moves, but the answer requires a subtle regroup.

Solution No. 1820

White K at K7, R at Q2, B at K3, Ps at Q4, Q3, K6, K8, K9 and K6. Black K at K4, Ps at Q2, K3, K5 and K2. Mate in four.

1 R-Q5, 1... P-B4 2 B-B1 P-B5 3 R-Q2 KxP 4 R-Q5 mate. If 1... P-B3 R-R5 P-B4 3 BxP KxP 4 B-K3 mate.

ALMOST on the stroke of midnight, the final game of the Kleinwort Greaveson British Championship at Southampton created an unresolved triple tie. Theory says that a lone rook can only draw against rook and two pawns when there are two RPs, or a BP and RP, but Flear did it against Mestel with KP and RP, his king blockading Mestel's king.

Now Chandler, Mestel and Speelman, the grandmaster trio of 1984 Olympic silver medalists, will play off this autumn for the title. Their 8/11 was followed by Flear and King 7½. Adams, Basman, Condie, Conquest, Hodgson, Lawton, McDonald and Watson 7. The GMs thus narrowly beat off the hungry young IMs in their early twenties, some of whom will surely become GMs themselves in the next few years.

White's seventh looks premature (7 Q-Q2) and now Black is ready to meet Q-Q2 by NxBP 9 QxN P-KN4 10 Q-N3 PxP. However, White could play 8 KxK2 when if NxBP 9 NxN P-KN4 10 N-R5.

8 N-Q5? P-QB3! 9 NxP PxP. Now 10 NxN fails to Q-R4 ch.

10 BxP Q-N3 11 P-QN3 NxB1. The winning tactical point; if 12 PxN

seven-year-olds with points a'op. As usual at this time of year they were in "velvet" and there was no sign that the blood-rich members which nourish the growing horns had started to peel off. Clad in olive-green, we could retreat through the bracken without upsetting the stag. Half-a-mile on we located a group of hinds. Until the annual mooting season — the rut — stags and hinds tend to lead separate lives. At Powdermill in Devon, only a couple of days previously, we had been watching the emporium herd of fallow deer. Nearly 50 stags of all ages had congregated in a corner of the park. Their varying colour — almost albino in a few cases — their massed palatine antlers, and their delicate movements made a magnificent sight, obtained with ease compared with the foot-slogging necessary to get close to the free-ranging reds of Exmoor.

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